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EDITORIAL

ANYONE who wishes to appraise the volume *The Lambeth Conference 1958*[1] is bound in fairness to recognize the difficulties under which it was published. Of these perhaps the greatest was the need to get it out at a very early moment after the Conference closed. With the national, and indeed the world press, clamouring to know what had been going on it was obviously important not to keep the rule of silence longer than was absolutely necessary. Luckily radio and television had already been allowed to take their toll of the bishops individually and in small groups. The passion for news had thus been to some extent assuaged and the public knew or guessed more or less what the Report would contain.

In fact the task of issuing a volume of 240 pages was executed with remarkable speed and efficiency. Technical matters such as type, paper, binding, format, and proof-reading were all dealt with admirably; and great credit is due to the publishers. There are one or two editorial matters that should receive attention at future conferences. Some means should be found of keeping the pagination continuous throughout the volume: the device of numbering the pages afresh from the middle makes reference difficult. More important, the book should not be allowed to end on so unexciting a note. One would have thought that expert preachers would have known better than to end the account of a much heralded world-wide gathering with a piece of minor discipline. It is just as important to end well as to begin well. Readers should have been left with some note of challenge. It would have been better to have concluded with the Encyclical, or the Message, or the Statement on peace.

Unfortunately none of these three documents is itself very exciting. One cannot help thinking what Newman might have made of them. True, one does not get Newmans in every generation, but there are plenty of men on the episcopal bench who could use the right kind of language. It is to be hoped that another time the proper people will be told off to prepare specimen efforts in these fields, if necessary even before the bishops meet, so that the Conference can have the opportunity of choosing, polishing, and sharpening them at its leisure. From the point of view of the

[1] S.P.C.K., 10s. 6d. and 7s. 6d.

general public they are probably the most important parts of the volume.

More knowledgeable readers will of course recognize the prior importance of the resolutions, embodying the considered views of the whole body of bishops, and the reports, embodying each the opinions of the committee that produced it. Of these two sections, which form the vast bulk of the book, it can be said without hesitation that they are in line with Anglican tradition and with Anglican tradition at its best. They do not present us with the elaborate analyses and careful definitions of theologians, although there is far more professional theology behind them than the critics are willing to concede. Nor do they present us with the unqualified assertions of political and social extremists, although the pacifists secure place for their denunciation of nuclear weapons. What they have given us is something more statesmanlike. These resolutions and reports are the work of *administrators* representing dioceses of different countries, races, and colours (both natural and ecclesiastical). They have to recognize that the Holy Spirit speaks not in one or two only but in all parts of the Church, and they must, as faithfully as they can, interpret the will of God for his people as a whole.

If the result is that the bishops are seen once again to tread the middle way, if they sometimes admit honestly that they are in doubt and must await further enlightenment, and if on a rare occasion they fail to agree, is not this precisely what we should expect from our fathers-in-God? Even Providence in his own scriptures does not give us some nicely finished and articulated revelation of himself. There is always room for doubt, discussion, and argument. That is how we learn to be men. Happily therefore we do not find any claim to infallibility in the reports.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Conference, as here described, was its conscious or unconscious effort to recognize the world-wide character of the Anglican Communion. There was evidently a determination to free Anglicanism from the shackles of English nationalism. The desire to hold the next Pan-Anglican Congress in a non-English-speaking country, the renewed emphasis on the Consultative Body, the decision to appoint a permanent secretary to the Advisory Council, the warm reception given to St Augustine's College, the correction of the idea that the English Book of Common Prayer is our main bond of unity, the realization

that there exists such a thing as a distinctive Anglican culture—all these are refreshing signs that the giant is waking up to a consciousness of his own size and strength and can feel the wind of the Spirit caressing his limbs.

It is a sign of this new sense of largeness and freedom that there should have been a definite reaction against a rigid uniformity in Prayer Book revision. It is also significant that the bishops feel no undue timidity about confessed oddities that will persist in some of the new united churches (Resolution 21). A further pointer in the same direction is the recognition that, in spite of all our unwillingness to proselytise on the continent of Europe, sixty per cent of those attending Anglican worship in Holland are of Dutch nationality. This last point could be fairly paralleled in other parts of the "Jurisdiction", as our chaplaincies in northern and central Europe are called. It bears witness to the growing knowledge and estimation of our Church on the Continent. The B.B.C. explains the popularity of its religious programmes on the Continent by the desire of people there to join in Anglican worship. Indeed the *via media*, like some other religious concepts, bids fair to become more popular in the lands of its adoption than of its birth.

On the whole it seems likely that this awareness of the international character of Anglicanism is likely to prove the specially important feature of this year's Conference. It would be a pity if it were missed by the commentators and by those whose business it will be to make the reports known in the dioceses and parishes. There are of course resolutions of grave practical and theological import, such as those on re-union and family planning, about which there will be much discussion and to which this journal may have to refer in the months to come. In the meantime it is good to look at the volume as a whole. If it is not one of the most exciting records ever to come from Lambeth, it at least gives a faithful account of a vast amount of work done and points the way to considerable development in the future. Apart from a much-needed note of urgency, that is perhaps all that we have a right to ask.

THE SIGNS OF THE NATIVITY

H. A. BLAIR

THE THREE signs of the Nativity were the star, the swaddling clothes, and the manger. If, as is often maintained, the Nativity stories are poetic fictions, we cannot claim any real significance for them or use them for teaching. If, however, they are meditations based on a background of history, we shall be justified in examining them to see where historical tradition ends and typological interpretation begins.

If typology takes the place of history, it destroys the principle of the Incarnation; for though Old Testament images may be significant even when they are not historical, they only become significant because they are summed up in the historical Christ. Poetry is anchored to history in the person of Jesus; if not, we become Docetists. If therefore the three signs of the Nativity are to be significant (as the Fathers all believed), they must at least be founded on fact.

First, then, the star. The star of the Magi was the angel of the shepherds, for to both Greeks and Jews stars were the visible signs of the presence of angels.[1] But was there really ever a star at all? Professor W. M. Smart, the distinguished astronomer, does not rule out the star, but he writes (in answer to my inquiry):

> There is no known calculable astronomical event out of the ordinary within the possible period; this of course does not rule out a new star or an unknown comet. But one does not see how either could possibly lead the Magi to the Manger.

Dr Plummer saw the same main difficulty, and wrote in his commentary on Matthew:

> The only element in the story which resembles legend is the statement that the star "went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was" . . .

A writer in *The New Scientist* (Christmas 1956) discussed the star of Bethlehem, taking its actual occurrence as historical, and said:

> It must certainly have been a new star, or what the Chinese would later have called a "guest star".

But this writer found himself up against this same difficulty, the

statement that the star "stood" over Bethlehem. A star may seem to stand over a house, but if the observer moves to right or left it will then be standing over another house; therefore it could not have pointed to the Manger. That seems to be the difficulty—as it was always mine, until I discovered a Manger in the heavens.

Aratus, Theophrastus, Ptolemaeus, and other early astronomers mention the Manger, within the constellation of the Crab, as a well known weather sign.[2] Aratus writes:

> See also the Manger, which like a little cloud points from the North below the Crab. On each side of it are set two stars shining faintly, neither very far nor very near. . . . and these are called the Asses, and between them is the Manger. (*Phaenomena*, 892ff.)

If the Magi were at the inn at Bethlehem, and there saw the new star standing above the heavenly Manger, it may well have directed them to the earthly manger, where they may even have found the asses, as in the heavenly pattern. Indeed Origen hinted at something of the kind in a reference to Isaiah 1. 3, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider"; he says:

> They [the shepherds] found him in the manger. It is this of which the prophet was speaking, "Ox and ass know the manger of their master"—which is a mystery revealed: an ox is a clean beast, an ass unclean. It is not "the people" [that is, the people of Israel] who know the manger of their master, but the unclean beast representing the Gentiles. (*Hom.* XIII *in Lucam*. G.C.S. IX, 93f.)

This only makes sense in the light of a tradition that asses were at the manger, not oxen.

If the star were a *nova*, there would be another reason for connecting it with the Crab constellation. Both Professor Smart and the writer quoted from *The New Scientist* mention the *nova* reported by Chinese and Japanese astronomers in A.D. 1054, and both definitely associate it with the Crab Nebula. Indeed the latter implied that this nebula was formed from the debris of the explosion which caused the *nova*. Aratus on the other hand seems to have seen something very like the Crab Nebula there several centuries before Christ. If so, it may be a part of the universe where such explosions are liable to occur. But at least Aratus and the others provide a possible answer to the question, "How could the star have stood over the Manger?"

The astronomers at least treat the star of the Magi seriously; and another unexpected witness to its credibility as history is J. G. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, who refers to the festival of Astarte, the divine mistress of Adonis, at Antioch, which was held on the day when Venus was first seen as a morning star—a day which was carefully noted by Babylonian astronomers. He writes:

> If that were so, we may surmise that it was the Morning Star which guided the wise men of the East to Bethlehem, the hallowed spot which heard, in the language of Jerome, the weeping of the infant Christ and the lament for Adonis.[3]

If he has guessed right, there must still have been something exceptional in that "first appearance" of the Morning Star to have sent the Magi on the quest. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the star as "foretelling" the Nativity,[4] and elsewhere states that the Magi saw the star, but were not guided by it to Jerusalem;[5] they went there because the Jews were famous for "*theosebeia*".

But though this makes sense of Matthew's star, Matthew does not mention the manger. Here Luke must help us, as indeed he can if we make allowance for his poetic expression of the tradition. Shepherds have always watched the sky for weather signs, such as the Manger and the Two Asses provided. The appearance of a new star in their weather sign, the Manger, would be seen at once. All portents are good in the Crab constellation, for it signifies peace and prosperity; a new star would therefore be a divine message of goodwill—the appearance of the Prince of Peace. A contemporary poet, Germanicus Caesar, writes:

> Omnia mitescunt tranquillo sidere Cancri. (*Aratea*, fr. 3, 8.)[6]

The planets as they enter the Crab are in their various ways propitious: and of Venus specially he writes:

> Sin levis ingressa est spatiosa sidera Cancri, Pacem mundus habet.

There may have been enough in that to prompt the vision, and to interpret its ultra-human language in terms of peace and goodwill. There too was the heavenly sign that directed them to the manger. This is, of course, to reduce their vision to its lowest possible terms, and to describe only its outward and visible signs. Given no more than the star, its point of appearance in the heavens and the confusion of mind which followed the portent, the shepherds' visit is

sufficiently explained. On their arrival the actual scene would have corroborated their vision; and the contrast of the carefully swaddled child with its rude cradle would give new food for thought.

Once the signs were established in the tradition, Christians would turn to the Old Testament to interpret their significance—the true business of typology, not to supply the deficiencies of sacred history but to expound it. The famous passage in Ignatius from his letter to the Ephesians (19) begins with the Star from Matthew; and continues with the homage of the host of heaven, from Luke, expounded partly in terms of Joseph's dream, but also in terms of another scripture. I quote Ignatius:

> A star in heaven shone above all the stars, its light was unspeakable and its new power struck bewilderment. All the rest of the stars—yes, sun and moon as well—were like attendants upon it, while its light surpassed them all. Then was confusion of mind—whence came this new power so unlike the rest? From that moment magical arts grew feeble, every bond of evil lost its power, ignorance perished, ancient empire crumbled, for God was shown in human shape with the renewing power of a deathless life. The plan of God began.

When Luke spoke of the multitude of the host of heaven praising God, it is likely that he was thinking back to that host of heaven whom Israel had been forbidden to worship, but whom they had worshipped none the less.[7] His account has echoes from the creation passage which begins the Yahweh speeches in Job (38. 4ff.) to which Ignatius also seems to owe something:

> Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?
> [Tell me if you have understanding.
> Who determined its measurements—surely you know!
> Or who stretched the line upon it?]
> On what were its bases sunk,
> Or who laid its corner stone,
> When the morning stars sang together,
> And all the sons of God shouted for joy?
> Or who shut in the sea with doors,
> When it burst forth from the womb;
> When I made the clouds its garment,
> And thick darkness its swaddling band,
> And prescribed bounds for it,
> And set bars and doors,

> And said, "Thus far shall you come and no farther
> "And here shall your proud waves be stayed"?
> Have you commanded the morning since your days began.
> And caused the Morning Star to know its place,
> That it might take hold of the skirts of the earth,
> And the wicked be shaken out of it?
> It is changed as clay under the seal . . .

The Nativity was, to Luke, the new creation, of which Christ was the cornerstone. Astrology pointed the way to where the full truth shone; but the astrologers were now to return home (as Tertullian said—*de Idol.* 9) "by another way". The interpretation of the simple Matthaean story as the end of magic and astrology began with Luke and Ignatius, and was followed by the Fathers generally;[8] it is most remarkably expressed for us in Milton's ode on the Nativity. So in the Job passage the Morning Star was summoned (I quote the Septuagint) to shake evil out of the earth, which in the new creation is changed like clay under the seal. The Fathers see other echoes too in the star—of Balaam's prophecy (Num. 24. 17), of Isaiah 49 and 60— but Matthew's story quotes none of these; it sounds like simple unaided tradition. Ignatius too, the sworn enemy of Docetism, would hardly have proclaimed the end of magic on the evidence of a star which never shone; to him, as to Ephrem the Syrian in the fourth century,[9] the star was the outward and visible sign of God in Christ.

The second sign also had its type in the Job passage, in the birth and swaddling of the great deep, whose power was restrained at the command of Yahweh. By the Christ this restraint was willingly accepted, and the symbol of it was the swaddling of the Divine Child. From this restraint he broke free only at the Resurrection when the forces of evil were overcome and he burst from the swaddling bands of the graveclothes.[10] Origen saw also the contrast with the first Israel of Ezekiel 16. 4,[11] who was unwashed, unsalted, unswaddled, whom God pitied and clothed, but who became faithless and was therefore stripped and left naked: the second Israel was found properly swaddled and cared for.

For Luke and his Greek readers the swaddling bands may have had other undertones. In New Comedy, swaddling bands (*spargana*) were marks by which a person's true birth and family were identified; and this became a conventional stage device for the recognition of an exposed child.[12] Gilbert Murray suggested that

this was a relic of the Dionysia, in which the god appeared with a sign of his true identity but was only recognized after protracted adventures. So the second sign of the Nativity may have had a special significance for Greeks, utterly alien to Jewish thought. It pointed to the unrecognized God.

The third sign, of the Manger, had an obvious significance. I turn again to an unprejudiced witness, Frazer in *The Golden Bough*:

> [Jerome] tells us that Bethlehem, the traditionary birth-place of the Lord, was shaded by a grove of that still older Syrian Lord, Adonis. . . . If Adonis was indeed, as I have argued, the spirit of the corn, a more suitable name for his dwelling place could hardly be found than Bethlehem, "The House of Bread", and he may well have been worshipped there at his House of Bread long ages before the birth of Him who said, "I am the bread of life".[13]

There would then have been the same significance for the shepherds in the sign of the Manger (the place of corn) as for Ignatius and the Fathers in the sign of the star. The star was the star to end all stars, the end of astrology. The Bread of Life was found in the Manger and in Bethlehem, the House of Bread, and so was the sign of the end of Adonis and the cult of the corn spirit.[14]

The relevance of these three signs for to-day may be this. Christ works not by destroying the ancient religions but by baptizing them: they are buried with Christ and recreated. Astrology was a legitimate guide until men found Christ, the true guiding star. The swaddling bands of God restrained the mighty deep; he did not abolish it: so they were the sign of God's own method. Even Adonis and the fertility cults had their validity, until they were summed up in the Bread of Life.

[1] Clem. Alex. *Exc. ex. Theod.* 70, 71. G.C.S. III, 129: 20-9. Tertull. *de Idol* 9. Origen, *in Jerem.* X, 6, G.C.S. III, 76: 22 Cf. also Isaiah 14. 12ff, 24. 21ff and *Midr. Rabbah* I: 22, VIII: 14, IX: 9. Dan. 8. 10. Deut. 4. 19f. Job 38. 4ff, v. infr.

[2] Aratus, *Phaenom.* 892ff. Ernest Maass, Berlin, Weidmann 1893. Theophrastus Eresius. Fredk. Wimmer, Tom. III, *Fragmenta*, Teubner 1862, p. 121. Fragm VI, cap. 1: 23. Ptolemaeus, *Tetrabiblos*, II: 11 and 13. Loeb, p. 203 (Manetho and Ptolemaeus). Pseudo-Eratosthenes, in *Mythographi Graeci*, vol. III, fasc. I. Catasterismi, Alex. Olivier. Teubner 1867, p. 14, part I, sec. 11. Germanicus Caesar, *Aratea*, Latin. Teubner, pp. 44, 45.

3 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., p. 346f.

4 Clem. Alex., *Strom.* I. XV: 71, 4: G.C.S. II, 45: 23-5.

5 Clem. Alex., *Exc. ex Theod.* 75ff. G.C.S. III, 130: 18f.

6 See note 2 above.

7 Deut. 4. 19f., 17. 3. 2 Kings 17. 16; 21. 3 5; 23. 4f.; Jer. 8. 2; 19. 13; Zeph. 1. 5. Acts 7. 42.

8 Ignat. *Eph.* 19. Clem. Alex., *Exc. ex Theod.* 74: 1, 2. G.C.S. III, 130, 18: 25f. Origen, *c. Cels.*, I, LX. G.C.S. I, 110f. Tertull., *de Idol.*, 9.

9 Ephrem Syrus, Rhythm 4 on the Nativity. J. B. Morris, tr. from Syriac, Oxford 1847, pp. 29f.

10 Ephrem Syrus, Rhythm 8 on the Nativity, edition quoted above, p. 40.

11 Origen, *in Ezech. Hom.* VI, 6. G.C.S. VIII, 384: 31, an over-allegorization.

12 See Liddell and Scott, under *sparganon*. See Menander, *Perikeiromene*, prologue, line 15, which describes how Melito gave Glycera the robe on which as a babe she had been found exposed, as a means of discovering her true birth.

13 P. 346.

14 If we may trust the Latin translation, Origen, *in Lucam*, Hom. XIII (G.C.S. IX, 93f.), also interprets Bethlehem as "House of Bread", to which the shepherds turned to seek Christ, the Heavenly Bread.

THE FEAST OF MEETING[1]

I. T. RAMSEY

> And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord. (Luke 2. 22.)

TWENTY-TWO years ago to-day my predecessor as Nolloth Professor, Dr Grensted, occupied this University pulpit and preached a sermon which, we may say, had remarkable results. Then, as now, the English Prayer Book had two titles for this Sunday. Then, as now, the heading read *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* commonly called *The Purification of St Mary the Virgin*, but the second title was printed in what Dr Grensted rightly calls "the ugly splendour of ecclesiastical type", while the first title was printed "in small and inconspicuous capitals". The remarkable result of Dr Grensted's sermon was that the Press thereafter altered the type so as to make both titles equivalent. For as Dr Grensted had pointed out, the Purification is not the earliest name for this festival, nor is it the happiest; and that same theme I would like us to develop this morning, though I hardly suppose the Press will change their type still further.

Let us start from the biblical basis for to-day's Commemoration. St Luke 2. 22 begins: "And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled". But in most Churches in this Realm the congregation has heard and will hear: "And when the days of [her] purification . . . were fulfilled", in a reading for which the reliable textual evidence is negligible. Nor is there any difficulty about the correct rendering. Luke is specifying a time, in terms of words from Leviticus 12—"days of purification fulfilled", and the point is that when the purification days had passed *for them, in their case*, they brought him up to Jerusalem, and the subject of that verb confirms the accuracy of *auton*. Oh! but, you'll say, Jesus and Joseph wanted no purifying, the purification could only refer to Mary, and so whatever Luke wrote, we are quite right in speaking of her—Mary's—purification. Let us leave aside for the moment the question as to whether Mary needed purifying at all. What is evident is that the new translation has changed the emphasis of the first sentence. Previously, the sense was this: At a

[1] A sermon preached before the University of Oxford on 2 February 1958.

certain time when the purification days were over for them, and when the mother could go to the Temple, they *all* went, and besides taking the appropriate sacrifice of a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons, they brought Jesus to present him to the Lord—for as Ex. 13 tells us he was, as the first-born, "holy to the Lord". In short, the Purification is mentioned to give a setting to the Presentation. With the mis-translation however, skilfully supported by a pair of brackets round the Exodus text, the whole emphasis at the start is on the fulfilment by Mary of the purification enactments of Leviticus. But even these devices of mis-translation and brackets cannot last for long, and all the succeeding verses tell of the meeting with Simeon who had come by the Spirit into the Temple, who when the parents brought in the child Jesus, took him up in his arms and blessed God . . . and as Joseph and his mother marvelled, Simeon uttered his *Nunc Dimittis* and the aged Anna gave thanks likewise unto the Lord and spoke of the child to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. Here was the Meeting between young and old, Jesus and the Law, God's visitation and devout Judaism. As a Feast of the Meeting, this day was commemorated in Jerusalem in the fourth century and it was introduced at Byzantium early in the sixth century, since which time the Greek Church has kept the day as one of the Festivals of our Lord, under the name of *Hupante* or *Hupapante*—the Feast of Meeting. It is by this same name that the Feast was originally known in the West. It is the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, the Coming of Christ to the Temple, which are recalled by the Collect and Epistle of to-day, both going back to the Sarum Missal, and the Collect at least to the Gregorian Sacramentary.

Further, if we go to Dr Cross's Dictionary, we find that even the name *Candlemas* would likewise support this theme of Presentation. For on this day it was customary, we are told, for candles to be blessed, distributed, and lit, and carried in procession, while the *Nunc Dimittis* was sung, commemorating the entrance of Christ as the true light into the Temple. It is only fair to say that others have traced this ceremony back to an ancient pagan festival which commemorated with lighted torches the search of Ceres for her daughter Proserpina, the Roman version of Demeter and Persephone; in which case we have already a lady in the story and can then argue that the pagan myth was transformed and honour paid to the Virgin as the "mother of the true light" The fact that in one

case the mother was searching for something she had lost, whereas in the other case the mother was offering to God something she had already been given, is an obvious complication which the second interpretation conveniently does not mention. To call this day principally *The Purification* involves us indeed in all sorts of embarrassment. First, we run the risk of having such a devotion to the Virgin as overlooks the fact that the day is primarily, as its scriptural basis is primarily, concerned with our Lord himself; such a devotion as then searches for encouragement in what is no more than the most lightweight of textual support. And if we dwell too long on this theme of purification, either we shall compromise our doctrine of St Mary's virginity or begin to take that view of sex, the sexual life, conception, and motherhood, which notoriously distinguishes such as St Jerome and St Augustine. Who would have asked either to prepare their son or their daughter for marriage?

It is as though in the name of devotion there is nothing too ingenious, too far-fetched, or too confusing to be believed; and I have often thought how convenient it might have been on such an occasion as this, had our ceremony contained provision for what might be called a liturgical wink. I suppose the nearest approach to that was in fact the "ugly splendour of ecclesiastical type" by which at one and the same time the title for this day was made prominent and yet hedged about. Do we not associate this type with Ye Olde Tyme Faire, Ye Olde Tudor Inne, with the language of sheer pretence or wishful thinking where, if we are inclined, imagination can work on few facts or none at all to produce a veritable Wonderland, which people may profess to believe for an hour or so on a Saturday afternoon at the parochial bazaar, or for an hour or two over the drinks at the Roadhouse, but no one would give the least credence to on a Monday morning? Do we not associate the type, in short, with a devotion which will not stand up to the rigours of life and reason, however much it may delight our off-moments?

To say all that is not at all to deny that devotion is due to the mother of our Lord. Mary—accepting humbly the command of God, keeping dutifully the old law and coming to fulfil thankfully its accustomed provisions—how well we may trace her picture in the Gospels. As Dr Grensted expressed it: "Here was a mother perplexed at the escapade of a son who had lingered unaccountably behind in the temple, a mother distressed at the strain her now

famous son was putting upon himself in his continuous ministry of preaching and healing. We see her blind with love and tears, too broken to understand, at the foot of the Cross, and we see the disciple who was dear to Jesus take her away to his home. After the Resurrection she is found with the company of the friends of Jesus, waiting for His promise of the Spirit. . . ." For my part I would go further. Unless we feel that in the ways of God it would be more appropriate for the Virgin in utter humility to have no special place amongst the mothers of every generation, we shall expect her always to have (as she had in Nazareth) a special place in God's purposes, and I would therefore not wish *a priori* to say that even a Doctrine of the Assumption was untrue. My main difficulty is to know what on earth or in Heaven it means. But to me it is significant that its most important defence, by those who hold it, is found first in its congruity with other doctrines about the Virgin—a point which I have already used in its favour, and secondly, that it brings us greater peace, that it stirs and keeps our devotion. But that brings us back to our question: Is the devotion to our Lady which centres on the Purification, spurious—or a pretence?

To ask that question is not to condemn the past. We can recall that when Adam de Brome was Rector, albeit largely absentee, of St Mary's; and when he had Oriel College dedicated to St Mary; when the life of the University centred here in this Church—we can recall and recognize that the devotion to St Mary on this day was precisely that of which we have been so critical. But this is not to say that when our doctors honour the past to-day by wearing their Scarlet, acknowledging this day as (in a way) the Patronal Festival of the University; that when the Fellows of Oriel to-night have their Candlemass Gaudy, we are all two-faced or insincere. Loyalty to the past must never demand that we subscribe *ex animo* to all that our predecessors believed; but it can and does demand that the devotion we have to-day to our Lady must not be one which we know in our minds is theologically suspect; that as much as in us lies we bring sound learning within a true religion.

That our Lady demands and deserves our devotion is, as I have said, not in question; but must not our devotion to-day rather recall her as one who saw her own keeping of the Law as an occasion for doing something more. There was no necessity to bring the first-born *to the Temple*. But as a family they came—and as soon as

Mary dared to come, for before this fortieth day from Christmas she would have been violating the Law to appear in the Temple. We can easily picture the conversation in the home. "We've not yet presented our Jesus to the Lord," says Joseph one evening. "When can we do it? You'd like to be there, of course, Mary." "The days of purification will soon be over now, Joseph. Let's make one journey of it and, best of all, make our presentation of Jesus at the Temple itself." So our devotion to-day is to our Lady as to one who founded our Festival of Meeting, took the True light to the Temple, and confronted the Temple and its traditional customs by Jesus. So this morning, let us, in devotion to St Mary the Virgin, and appropriately in this Church, likewise confront our University, our own life and work here, with Christ. Let us ask ourselves: Do we aptly present ourselves to God? This question breaks up into two: (i) What of the traditional religious loyalties of the University? Do we embrace "sound learning" in "true religion"? (ii) What of our service to God in Church and State? Do we teach "religious and *useful* learning"? Let us consider each in turn.

We have already noted that the traditional religious loyalties of our University are epitomized in such a one as Adam de Brome, who when he obtained a licence from Edward II to found Oriel College, planned to study divers sciences, theology, and the *ars dialectica* in the Virgin's honour. This was a time when the intellectual synthesis of the thirteenth century was trying to teach men a common learning set within a common worship. In his *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* Christopher Dawson says (p. 234):

> The intellectual synthesis of the thirteenth century was the crown and completion of centuries of continuous effort to achieve an integration of the religious doctrine of the Christian Church with the intellectual tradition of ancient culture. This aim was already set out in a rudimentary form by the encyclopaedists of the sixth and seventh centuries . . . but it was not completely achieved until the thirteenth century with the recovery of the full inheritance of Greek philosophy and science, and with the creation of the new intellectual organs of Christendom—the university corporations and the Orders of Friars.

So arise men like Adam de Brome, zealous for and devoted to God, for whom ideally every phase of their life, within and without the University, had a Christian setting. But the University itself—

like all its kin—was destined to strangle the very culture which had given it birth. As Dawson later remarks: the Universities gloried in what Gilson has called the great cathedrals of ideas—the great intellectual achievements of the thirteenth century—but they were soon to inaugurate "a period of intellectual criticism which proved fatal to the synthesis of religion and culture that seemed to have been achieved in the previous centuries" (op. cit., p. 238).

Now does this mean that our Universities were traitors on the large scale? That would be far too facile a judgement. At a later point Dawson himself, and perhaps despite himself, puts his thumb on the difficulty. "There can be little doubt", he says, "that the creation of the universities . . . formed part of the far-reaching design of the medieval Papacy for the intellectual organization of Christian civilization, which is one of the most remarkable examples of the planning of culture on a large scale that history has ever seen" (p. 237). Notice the words: "*intellectual organization* of civilization", "*planning* of culture". Here was the mistake which only perhaps in the last century bore its bitterest and most unpalatable fruit. I suggest it was in *planning* culture, in *organizing* civilization by an *intellectual* scheme, that *theology* was not so much mistaken for religion, as thought to embody and necessarily preserve it. The need for a common devotion was translated into the possession of a common theology, and what had been rightly recognized in a mysterious act of worship became mistakenly translated into an authoritative theology which had to be definitive for all intellectual life. Only within the last century has the full force of the storm been felt, as the full spirit of searching criticism and inquiry has been directed on to theology. To my mind, whatever be the other causes, nothing has weakened the religious loyalty of the University more than the consequent strain between theology as it is studied, and theology as it is professed. For Adam de Brome there was no strain whatever about his theological professions. But what happened to his successors?

There were those of a liberal persuasion who, as much as Adam de Brome, searched for a new unity between study and *credo*. But this meant peppering traditional doctrines with bullets from Tübingen and elsewhere, and what remained was hardly a monument of devotion.

Others recognized a gap when they saw one. Some bridged it—and still do—by a special appeal to authority. Some were content,

and still are, with double-think. They are able to preach on Christmas Day, Easter Day, or Ascension Day, without any apparent thought for critical problems.

Theology as it is studied—theology as it is professed. Without any question, the important task before theology to-day is to bridge this gap. Theology must find a method of study and inquiry by which to unite what its linguistic and historical disciplines yield on the one hand, with what the Christian professes Sunday by Sunday on the other. Theology, as one University discipline amongst others, must clearly never exclude either criticism or development; but it must also do something to sketch the connection between its critical studies and declared doctrines. It must strive to formulate what is a *reasonable* devotion.

There is here both a difference and yet a similarity between theology and our other subjects. Other subjects *need* not be concerned about their relationship to a man's full life—*need* not be concerned about their fulfilment in a man's worship. But theology must. Yet other subjects may be so concerned, and when they are, it is the links of theology that will supply the paradigm when they are found.

Here then is *the new picture*—of different studies, including theology, set within a common devotion; and whether that devotion is spurious or not will depend on the character of our composite scheme which, however inadequate as it must necessarily be, can certainly be better or worse.

But how will this new interpretation of our religious loyalty be reached? For the theologian: by being specially concerned about his own problem; for us all: by thinking and praying together, by seeking fellowship in worship—and to this end our worship, both as a University and as Colleges, is of first importance. It follows, does it not, that our College Chapels—and I should think this University pulpit—should foster and provide a common worship for those united in a common search. Which means, I suggest, that if they continue to be thought of as Anglican, it must not be "Anglican" such as Canon lawyers might search to define it, but "Anglican" as was the English Church when Ralph Cudworth could write to the Dutch Limborch and say: "In our English Church, *just as* in Noah's Ark *were* all sorts of Animals (if I may so express it) are all kinds, all dwelling here, united with no apparent discord in one and the same Communion."

It is in such ways then that the University will once again unite sound learning and true religion, and will have a devotion worthy of this Festival of Meeting, worthy of St Mary the Virgin who contrived to unite the old and the new and to challenge the old with the new light in Christ.

(ii) Secondly, what of our consequent service of God? In the earlier days of medieval devotion, people could speak freely of "religious and useful learning". Colleges were founded to produce doctors, lawyers, clergy, teachers. One College was to be a "seed-bed of ministers", another College was to meet the need for "school-masters in grammar" and so on. All were religious and useful. But by the time of Newman the case was different. He called "a fallacy" the notion that a University education should teach "some temporal calling, or some mechanical art, or some physical secret". The task of a University was rather to train "gentlemen", preparing a man "to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility", someone "at home in any society", having "common ground with every class". The picture is of a man "exposed to acknowledged masterpieces of human thought and knowledge" who discerns therein, by reference to one subject it may be, the pattern of all knowledge, a universal pattern which echoes his theology. Only afterwards need he bother about its practical use, but then he will devote himself, said Newman, to human society all the more. University education was religious but not primarily useful.

Strange as it may sound, it is an easy development from Newman to the liberal view, which saw the University as no more than a place for detached selective study. Learning for learning's sake; and let no one even hope to see a theological pattern. Like Newman it despised usefulness: unlike Newman it also despised theology. Education, like some gentlemen, was now neither religious nor useful.

So to our own day. The University has connections with Society which neither Newman nor his liberal successors could ever have dreamed of. In place of Adam de Brome or Edward II we have industrial magnates, big business, Institutes of Transport, and the rest. It cannot be long before a Pools winner founds a Chair—a Littlewood Chair of Probability. A college porter goes up as an undergraduate; the son of a college servant becomes an under-graduate at his father's college. A good scout or a good chef are as eagerly sought after, and probably more difficult to come by, than

a good Fellow. It may be an undergraduate who in vacation serves me with tea and a sandwich at Paddington or Derby; he may, even in term, drive the taxi I summon. And there must be few dons who cannot acquit themselves with credit with the children or at the kitchen sink. At one college, coal has at last appeared in the Common Room, because now at last dons can be expected to put coal on the fire themselves. The University cannot avoid being useful, even if it would.

Can its usefulness, however, be religious; or rather *how* will its usefulness become religious? Let us take as a single example the point at which at the present time the potential usefulness of the University is greatest—its contribution to our general scientific development. Without doubt that above all else which needs working out to-day is the due place of the sciences and engineering—technology—in religion and useful learning. But if scientific usefulness is also to be religious, two conditions will be fulfilled.

In the first place, as we said earlier, we must learn how to set scientific study in an atmosphere of worship. We may remark that this day, which is the Presentation, is also, to-day and appropriately, Septuagesima Sunday, when we ponder God as revealed in the world of nature, the Creator as discovered in the creation. It may be that men study the fatty acids, or diffraction gratings, or hormones, with as little religious devotion or wider usefulness than a man *need* bring to a study of Syriac or Greek. But we may equally well study the fatty acids and Syriac with a religious devotion; and we do that when, as we ponder this or that reaction or symbol, we are driven on in a relentless spirit of question and inquiry until the reaction or symbol becomes that by which we become aware of our confrontation with God—our meeting with Christ.

To do this will bring with it, secondly, a new awareness of our kinship as redeemed children of God; and this conviction will not only mean that our scientific developments become religious as well as useful learning, it will break down that great intellectual divide which characterizes our University to-day. Some speak as if all our troubles would be solved if only the scientists did some English or some classics; others speak as if the gulf could better be bridged by teaching all arts men some science. But human nature will not move easily either way; and in any case superficial smotherings will never bridge the great divide. The only sure foundation for

the reintegration of University life is the recapturing of a shared devotion.

Further, in so far as there was point in the *Times* correspondence on the New Snobs—social differences, too, will only be fully overcome in this same way. Those with an easy superiority, and those feeling self-conscious and timid even if angry—each has to learn about the other half of the world. The opportunity afforded by residence here will never recur. Even so, humanity will not move easily either way. Each must find a kinship in a common redemption: there is no other reliable bond.

We can certainly agree with Newman that those united in a fellowship of learning will be also at home in any society and have common ground with every class. But the condition for both is what Newman in his day could appeal to as a self-evident fact—belief in God which was "the secret assumption, too axiomatic to be distinctly professed". *It is that assumption that so many no longer make, and for lack of which our society stands disintegrated, and our learning, even if useful, not often religious.*

Here then is a duty which this *Hupante*, this Festival of Meeting, lays upon us. Let us practise and promote that devotion by which our Lady brought the infant Jesus to the aged Simeon. Let us constantly bring the light of Christ's truth to bear on our work, and life, and endeavours, till, in a genuine devotion and true *koinonia*, we possess once again a learning that is religious and useful, and find ourselves aptly qualified for the service of God in Church and State.

THE DOCTRINE OF ORDER

T. F. TORRANCE

ORDER is the co-ordinating of the life of the Church in its fellowship, worship, and mission in the service of the glory of God. The order of the Church's ministry is the ordering of its life and work through participation in the obedience of Christ. Let us elucidate that in a number of paragraphs.

1. In the biblical revelation the whole concept of order is viewed over against disorder and chaos. Apart from the ordering of God's creative Word the world is without form or void, but into the ordered cosmos there has broken the disorder of sin. It belongs to the very nature of sin to divide, to disrupt, to be anarchic—sin is lawlessness, *anomia*. The opposite of all that is order, harmony, communion. When God made the world, he made it in order, and everything was set in its due proportion. But through the lawlessness of sin the world fell out of proportion, out of order, and was threatened with sheer chaos. Were it not for the persistent fact of God's purpose of love, the world would destroy itself, but in his Covenant mercy God holds the world together in spite of its chaos. To that end he has promulgated his law, which restrains and contains disorder and chaos and reduces it to a measure of proportion, even while it is still in the grip of *anomia*, or lawlessness. But God's Covenant contains the promise of a new order, of a new creation when all things will be restored to their obedience and perfection in the divine Will. Meantime wherever there is *anomia* it is met by the divine *nomos*, and there is conflict between disorder and order.

2. The biblical revelation does not work with a concept of natural law, that is of an order immanent in natural processes capable of being brought to its self-expression. There is an order of creation (*ordo creationis*) but that is not discernible by observing the empirical creation (*cursus naturae*) but only by observing the creative Will of God, which will restore to creation its lost order and its true form and harmony in the Word of God. That is shadowed forth in the divine law promulgated in the Old Testament, the revealed law of God, but as yet that law, set over against the lawlessness of the world, is revealed mainly in its negative aspect of judgement upon disorder, and of restraint upon lawlessness. It is through the judgement of disorder that order is maintained, and laws are formed to make life in the disordered world

possible at all. But the ultimate function of that law is to point beyond itself to the new law, the new order of the New Covenant. Under the Old Covenant there was a divine form of administration or economy given in the law of Moses; but that points ahead to the new Covenant when the Covenant Will of God will bring and manifest a new form of administration or economy. This will be inserted into the world and written into its inner being—the new law to be inscribed upon the heart through the Spirit. As such it is a new order that comes from without and is planted within.

3. That New Order, the New Economy, or rather the Eternal Economy of God for his creation, came into the world in Jesus Christ. In the Incarnation the Word of God entered into his own disordered world; the Light shone into the darkness; the divine economy entered within historical and creaturely existence. In other words, the Covenant Will of God broke into our world and is completely fulfilled in Jesus Christ both from the side of God and from the side of man. That is the economy of which St Paul speaks, when he describes its work as that of gathering up all things into Christ the Head, things visible and invisible, and their ordering in the eternal purpose of the divine love and fellowship. *Oikonomia* describes literally the ordering of a house, household administration. God is the great Householder who has come to take control of his own house and family and order it according to his love. He does that in and through the Incarnation, in which his *oikonomia* is not imposed upon the world from without but enters into it and operates from within it. *Oikonomia* represents the great condescension of the divine Will to work out his purpose of love without violence within the alienated will of man, to work out his divine economy within the disordered existence of the world. Now the *mode of that economic condescension* is the way of Jesus Christ the Servant, the way of obedience even to the death of the Cross, and it is through that mode of economic condescension that he is exalted to be the Head of all things, and especially the Head of the Church, his Body.

4. In Jesus Christ, therefore, in his Incarnation, and in the whole course of his obedience, there has taken place, in the divine economy, a restoration of alienated man to fellowship with God, a conversion of rebellious humanity to the obedience and love of God. In other words, in the whole human life of Jesus the order of creation has been restored; in the midst of our disordered, sin-

disrupted existence, there has been lived a human life in perfect order and proportion to the Will of God. The Covenant purpose of God in creation has been fulfilled and more than fulfilled. Here we have the divine economy entering into our creaturely and human existence and ordering it from within *against* our human nature, that is against the consequences of sin in all its disorder, chaos, and lawlessness entrenched in fallen human nature. This is the order of redemption which reaches back to the original order of creation and far transcends it in the amazing purpose of the divine love, as the order of the new creation. Here in the new Humanity in Jesus Christ nothing is out of order or out of proportion. Everything has its proper order, proper time, proper place, proper sequence, and proper end. From beginning to end the whole life of Jesus in obedience to the Father is directed to his praise and glory, so that the new order of creation established and revealed in the Humanity of Christ can be spoken of as the praise of creation for the Creator.

5. Order in the new creation is to be regarded as a third dimension. We are not concerned here simply with the Will of God and the obedience of man, with the Law of God and the conformity of man to that divine law, but with a *third dimension*, with a divinely-provided fulfilment of the divine Law. In the Old Testament we have a situation in which God gathers his children into Covenant relation with himself, and within that Covenant he declares: "I will be your Father, and you will be my children . . . I am holy, therefore be ye holy. I am God, walk before me and be perfect." But God knows that his childern are unable to be holy or obedient or perfect before him; they are unable to fulfil the requirements of his Covenant Will, so that within the Covenant and as part of its Covenant mercies he graciously provides a way of response to his Will, a way of obedient conformity to his Covenant which he is pleased to accept as from his people in the Covenant. That was provided in Israel's cult or *leitourgia*. But that cultic pattern of response had to be acted out in obedience, while it pointed beyond itself to God's promise of a way of obedient fulfilment of it in the actual existence and life of his people. That was the theme in the Servant Songs, which was fulfilled at last in Jesus Christ, who in his obedient Humanity is our God-given way of response to the divine Will. God's Covenant Will is fulfilled for us, on our behalf and in our stead, and through our participation in the obedient Humanity of Christ we are given to share in the fulfilled

economy of the new Covenant, indeed of the new creation. That then is the third dimension. We are not simply concerned even in the Christian Church with the Will of God in love and grace, and then with the obedience of man in love and fellowship. We are concerned with these two, but with the two as fulfilled and completed in Jesus Christ, in the obedient ordering and perfection of his human life as an oblation of all praise and thanksgiving to God the Creator and Father, and therefore of our sharing in his obedience through the power of the Spirit. Thus *order* in the New Testament refers to the concrete ordering of our human life and being in the obedient Humanity of Jesus Christ. All order in the Christian Church is a participation in his obedient Humanity—whether that order be an ordering of its daily life: daily worship, or daily fellowship, or daily mission. The whole of the Church's life is ordered through participation in the ordered life of Jesus Christ, the New Adam, the Head of the New Creation.

6. The form which this re-ordering in Jesus Christ takes, is the form of a Servant. It was through his obedience within our disobedient humanity that he restored us to order and peace in God. But in that he, the obedient Servant, is given to be the Head of all creation, all creation is now re-ordered in obedience to him, for he gives it to share in his obedience to God. Because Christ is the Head of creation, chaotic, lawless creation is restored to order in him, and because he restored order through obedience to the Father, he restores order to the creation through bringing creation into obedience to himself, by granting it through the Spirit to share in his own obedience. Thus as Jesus was obedient in the Father, who sent him to fulfil his Will, so the Church is ordered in its obedience to Christ who sent it to fulfil his Will. The obedience of the Church to Christ is not simply an imitation of his obedience but a fulfilling of God's Will through participation in Christ's obedience.

7. It is through the Spirit that the Church is given to share in Christ's obedience, and so to be ordered in and by and through his obedient Humanity. Christ is the Law of the Church's life, the Law according to which its life and work are to be ordered, but that Law is fulfilled not simply by external obedience and conformity but by inner and outer sharing in his Life, so that *through the Spirit* the Church is in-the-law to Christ [*ennomos Christou*], conformable to him through communion with him. It is the Spirit who is the Law of the Church's ordered life, not the Spirit as a new law of

nature, not the Spirit as the soul of the Church, not the Spirit as a new immanent norm in the development of the Church through history, but the Spirit who gives the Church to share in the obedience of Christ the Head of the Body and who is other than the Church, its Lord and King but who in economic condescension has come to be obedient to the Father from within the Church, that the Church may share in an obedience not its own. and in an order that is new to it, indeed against its own nature, an order from beyond the Church's own being but in which it is given to participate by the Spirit.

8. This being so, *actual order* as we see and have it in the historical Church on earth is essentially ambiguous. Its basic order is the obedient new humanity in Christ. The Church shares in that through the Spirit, so that its life is ordered through the Communion of the Spirit. But the Church that shares in that order of the New Creation is the Church that is sent by Christ out into history, to live its life in the physical and temporal existence that awaits redemption in the second advent of Christ. The Church, in the midst of the old creation and all its disorder, shares in the new creation and its new order. By sheer participation in the empirical life of this fallen world which comes under the divine judgement and therefore the divine Law, the Church participates in worldly forms and laws and cannot escape from them. It is sent to have its mission right there under Law, but under Law to share in the new order in-the-law to Christ through the Spirit. Just as the Son of God himself condescended to be made under the Law and through obedience to fulfil the Will of God, and as such was exalted above all, so the Church which is given to share through the Spirit in the new Humanity of Christ is sent into history to live out its new life in the form of a servant under the Law—not to be fettered by the Law, not to be schematized according to the forms and patterns of this age, that is, not to be legalized in its life, but to use the patterns and forms of the Law of this age in the service of its new life in the risen and ascended Lord. Thus all order in the historical Church is essentially ambiguous because it is order in the overlap of the two ages, this present age that passes away and the new age which through the Spirit already overlaps it in Christ.

Another way of putting that is to say that all order in the historical Church is essentially eschatological. By "eschatological" here two things are meant: (*a*) that order carries within it the

tension between the new and the old; and (*b*) the tension between the present (including the past) and the future. True order in the Church of Christ is order that points above and beyond its historical forms to its new order in the risen Christ, and points beyond its present forms to the future manifestation of its order in the new creation. Actual order in the Church is thus ambivalent and provisional: it is order that visibly reflects its life hid with Christ in God, and order that exercises a provisional service in time, until Christ comes again. The outward order is like the scaffolding of a building which is to be torn down and cast away when the building itself is complete. In history God has given the Church its historical order and structure which participates in the forms of this passing world, but when the building of the Church as an habitation of God is complete, and its new order is revealed in the advent of Christ, the historical forms of order and structure will be cast away. Or to put it another way: all order is at once juridical and spiritual. It is at once participant in *nomos*, and participant in *Pneuma*, that is in Christ through the *Pneuma*. The validity of orders in the Church partakes of that ambivalence. Validity is at once a juridical term relative to the particular nomistic structure of a Church, relative to the law of a Church, but validity is also a spiritual term referring to the sharing of the Church in the authority of Christ through his Spirit, a sharing in the *exousia* of the Son of Man. It is that essential ambiguity in validity that makes it such a difficult term, and forgetfulness of it that causes persistent confusion.

Now in the light of all these eight paragraphs we have to think of the *order* of the Church's ministry with reference to its actual life in the space and time of this world. The ordering of the Church's life through sharing in, and therefore according to, the obedient Humanity of Christ, is an ordering within the physical and temporal life of this world. Order has therefore to be thought out in terms of *space* and *time*.

1. *Order in regard to space*. Because the Church is the Body of Christ, it has a physical and spiritual life in which the physical and the spiritual are not to be separated, though they may be distinguished, from one another. The Church as Body of Christ in history has therefore space. It has its place in this world, the place which it has been given by Christ and into which he has sent it.

It is in its place in the physical world that its life is to be ordered. Let us look at that in this way. Jesus Christ, the Man Jesus, is the place in this physical world where God and man meet and where they have communion with one another. The Temple in the Old Testament was the place where God put his Name, where he kept tryst with his covenanted people, and where they kept covenant with him. Jesus Christ is that Temple on earth and among men where God has put his Name, and where he has appointed us to meet him. It is the place where heaven and earth meet, the place of reconciliation. Jesus Christ is himself God's mercy-seat, God's place in this world where he is really present to us in our place. But Jesus Christ ascended and he is in heaven—that is, he has a heavenly place far beyond anything that we can understand and far beyond our reach, but Jesus Christ through his Spirit has also bestowed his presence upon us in the Church, so that the Church on earth is the place of Christ.

The place of the Church in history is the place where Christ's presence is to be found. That is his real presence. It is of course above all in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the midst of the Church on earth, that we are given the real presence of Christ. That is the place of Christ in the place of the Church on earth. That is the place where heaven bends down to earth, and where man on earth is made to sit in heavenly places in Christ. Here we are concerned with two places, as it were, the heavenly place of Christ and the spatial place of the Church. The place of the Church is to be defined with regard to that heavenly place of the real presence of Christ on the one hand, and with regard to its participation in the spatial context of the physical world on the other. The Church's life, worship, fellowship, and ministry are all ordered in regard to that two-fold, heavenly and earthly, place. No adequate understanding of the order of the Church can neglect that two-fold involvement in space enshrined so clearly in the Sacrament. Order will concern the indicating or defining of the place on earth where the heavenly place of Christ makes contact with it, but that earthly place cannot be so delimited and defined as thereby to define and delimit also the heavenly place of Christ. Christ the risen and ascended Lord is in a place that is beyond definition and delimitation. It is through the Sovereign Spirit that he graciously condescends to be really present in the appointed space of the Church and to make that his place on earth. But he does not there-

by bind himself to that place on earth; rather does he bind us through that place to his own real Presence, to his heavenly place, and so from that appointed place on earth he exalts us to sit with him in heavenly places. All this means that the Church's *order* in space is concerned with the ordering of its physical fellowship and worship in the Spirit. Order serves the proclamation of the Word and the Eucharistic fellowship on earth, but orders it in such a way that it makes room in it all, makes a place in it all, for the sovereign presence of the Spirit, for the heavenly place of Christ—that is, for his real presence. The Christian Church as the Body of Christ on earth knows nothing of a spaceless ordering of its life.

2. *Order in regard to time.* Because the Church is the Body of Christ, it has a temporal and eternal life in which the temporal and the eternal are not to be separated, although they may be distinguished, from one another. The Church as the Body of Christ in history therefore has time as an essential ingredient of its reality. It has its time in this world, the time which it has been given by Christ, and into which he has sent it. It is in the time-form of this world, in historical existence that its life is to be ordered—to be ordered as Christ's Body in time. Now Jesus Christ in his historical life is the area in the time of this creaturely world where God and man, eternity and time, meet and have communion with each other. Israel through its history was the area within world-history into which God intervened with his redeeming purpose, in order to work into our time and from within our time toward that area in the fulness of time when God would become man and would gather man into the life of God, when the Eternal would come into the passage of time and would gather time into union with the eternal. In Israel God bound our time into Covenant-relation with himself, but all that is completely fulfilled in Jesus Christ where time is not only the sphere of the eternal event, but time is sanctified, redeemed, reconciled, and given new reality in union with Eternity, once and for all.

In Jesus Christ, therefore, the Eternal Son of God has lived his life within our time; he became time, and has in himself elevated time into abiding communion with the eternal God. In Jesus Christ God has recreated time, redeemed it from its vanity, from its guilt and irreversibility, its decay and corruption, and given it a new reality in the new Humanity of the incarnate Son. But Jesus Christ has ascended and he is in heaven, in Eternity—that is, he has an eternal

time far beyond anything that we can understand or can measure by the kind of time we have in this passing age. It is not a timeless time, or a timeless eternity, but eternal time, in which our time, redeemed new time, is eternally real in union with Eternity itself. That is the new time of the Kingdom manifested in the forty days of the risen Jesus Christ upon the earth, and within the lapse of our temporal history; but now that Jesus Christ has ascended, he has withdrawn that new time of his New Humanity from sight, from the visible succession of passing time on the plane of history. And yet Jesus Christ bestows himself upon us in time, and in such a way that our faith and worship are not timeless, any more than they are spaceless. It is within our passing time that he has time for us, that he makes time for us, makes time for communion, for faith, for worship, for growth, for development, for advance. It is in the Church in history that Christ has time for us, for by the very act of his ascension he waits for us and makes time for us, in which we can hear the Gospel, time in which we can repent, time for decision and faith, time in which we can preach the Gospel to all nations.

This was a frequent element in the teaching of the historical Jesus, in his parables of the householder or the king who went into the far country and waited till the right time to return, but in that period of waiting he gave his servants time, and then returned to call them to account for the time he had given them—the word sometimes used to describe that is *chronizein*, but it has also associated with it the word *chorein*, to make room, that is room for freedom to believe, freedom to decide, and freedom to be obedient (within time) until the return of the householder or king. It is in that light that we are to understand Christ's ascension, and the fact that by the very act of ascension, and his heavenly waiting until the right time for him to return, Jesus Christ establishes the Church in history with temporal form within the passage of time where it has time to work and time to obey him. It is in that time that the Church has time to exist and carry out its mission, within the succession of history where there is time between revelation and decision, time between decision and act, time between present and future, time for the Gospel. Thus the existence of the Church as bound up with its mission is inseparable from time. The Church as the Body of Christ in history is the area within the time-form of this world where God and man meet in the Gospel, and where man is reconciled to God and united to him in Jesus Christ.

But it is *in Jesus Christ* that God gives the Church that time, and that place in time—and that means in the historical Jesus, and in the risen and ascended Jesus. Just as Jesus Christ is the place where heaven and earth meet and God and man are reconciled, and the only place where that takes place, so Jesus Christ is the one place within time, and the only place within time, where God has provided time for the reconciliation of man, and man finds time for forgiveness and redemption. Jesus Christ is himself the fulness of time. Therefore the order of the Church in time means the ordering of the Church's life and mission in relation to the time of Jesus Christ, the historical Christ, and the risen and ascended Christ. In all Church order, we are concerned with the time of Jesus on *earth* when God's Son condescended to enter within our fallen time in order to redeem it, but also with *the time of Jesus ascended into Eternity* who yet bestows himself upon us in time through his Spirit. The time of the Church will therefore be defined by the relation of the Church in history to the historical Jesus Christ, and to the ascended and returning Jesus Christ; the Church's life, worship, fellowship, and ministry are all ordered with regard to that two-fold time, heavenly and earthly, historical and eternal time. No adequate understanding of the order of the Church can overlook that two-fold involvement in time.

Look at it like this. On the one hand Christ by his ascension has withdrawn himself from the visible passage of time on the plane of this earth in order to send us back to the one time in all history where in the fulness of time the Son of God became incarnate—that is the time of the whole historical life of Jesus culminating in the "hour" of his death and breaking out into the new time of the resurrection. The Church is for ever bound to the historical Jesus, for the Truth and the Life of God have become historical fact in Jesus and are now historically communicated and transmitted. The Church exists in that history stemming from the historical Jesus, and lives by the Word historically communicated through the Apostles. Therefore all the life and ministry of the Church has to be ordered in time, according to the nature of that divine event in time, the time of the historical Jesus. By withdrawing himself from the visible succession of history, and by refusing to abrogate our existence in time by sheer immediacy, Jesus Christ gives us time, enables us to take time with the historical Jesus and the historical Word communicated by and from Jesus. Thus, far from abrogating

our existence in the on-going time of this world, by his ascension Jesus Christ sends us into the time of this empirical world, and commands us within it to focus our attention on the time of the historical Jesus, to be bound by it, and to be obedient to it, for it is by that time and through it that Jesus continues to rule the Church and to order it according to his Word in actual history. Hence throughout all its life on earth, throughout all its continuity in history, the Church lives its life in historical attachment to the fulness of time in Jesus, and in historical continuity with it. It is out of that one time in Jesus that the Church lives from age to age, and from it that the Church derives its own time in history. It cannot in any circumstances detach itself from the historical Jesus, or depreciate its historical attachment to him in the fulness of time, for it is precisely by its being bound and obedient to the historical Jesus Christ in the tradition of the Apostolic Church that Christ continues to rule over the Church by his Word and Spirit, making it his own Body and Servant in history.

Church order is therefore the ordering of the Church's life in history in relation to that one time in all history, the time of Jesus, for that is the only place in time where eternity and time have really met, and where they are for ever joined, and it is in and through that union of eternity and time in Jesus that the Church lives its life on the plane of history. On the other hand it is in that time of the historical Jesus that the Church from age to age still meets with the eternal God and is gathered up "into" eternal time. It is only within the time of the historical Jesus that the new time of the risen Jesus breaks in upon the Church in history, and gives it to share and abide in the new time of the new creation. It is in the historical Jesus that the new time overlaps with the old time in our history, and only there, so that it is as the Church lives there in that overlap of the two times, that it is given to share in new time above and beyond the time of this passing age on the mere plane of earthly history. The Church continues to live within the time of this on-going world, but it finds its life above and beyond it in the risen and ascended Lord, not in some timeless eternity, but in one who has himself descended into our time, redeemed it and gathered it up in himself into union with Eternity. The Church is therefore bound to the succession of time by relation to the historical Jesus, but it is precisely in the historical Jesus that it knows its true life to be hid with Christ in God, and to be found beyond the passing and

succcessive forms of this age. This does not mean the abrogation of the Church's historical existence, but it does mean that the historical existence of the Church, its continuity within the succession of time on earth, is determined by relation to the new time of the risen Lord. Hence the Church within the succession of time on earth is given a new orientation within the limitations of time so that, instead of being fettered by the bonds of time, bound by the sheer irreversibility of time that is laden with guilt, instead of being determined by the temporal processes of this world, the Church within time has freedom to meet with eternity, to rise above its past and to live a new life from age to age in Christ.

It may help us to understand that by thinking a little naïvely of the "two times" of the Church, as *horizontal time* on the plane of history in which it is bound to, and ordered in relation to, the time of the historical Jesus, and as *vertical time* in the Spirit in which the Church shares with Christ the time of his new Humanity. If the Church had only horizontal time, then the Church would only be a construct of historical succession, having only its temporal origin in Jesus but actually being fettered and determined by its place within the temporal process. Then the Church would not be free to have real meeting with the risen Lord; it would be enslaved to history, enslaved to its own past and all the errors and sins of its past; it would not be free from all the limitations and determinisms of history. But the Church within history is the Church of Jesus Christ in whom the Eternal has broken into our sin-determined and guilt-fettered time, and brought freedom and redemption from bondage. Jesus Christ is the area in our fallen time where the Eternal has broken through the limitations of this passing age to which we are in bondage, and where God acts freely upon men through his Word and Spirit, confronting them with his own Person, and enabling them to respond freely in spite of all the downward drag of sin, in spite of all the piled-up determinisms of our guilty past, in spite of our bondage in the time of this world. The Church is therefore the place within time where that free meeting with the eternal is possible, where within time men are delivered from the tyrant forces of bondage and are made free for God, so that real meeting in faith and love is not only possible but actual.

In the light of all that, then, the order of the Church's ministry in time to be is regarded as the ordering of its life within the on-

going time of history and its succession which makes time for meeting with the risen and ascended Lord. It is an ordering of the historical and temporal life of the Church that binds it to that one place in history and time in the historical Jesus; but because in Jesus the Eternal breaks into our history and time giving us, through the Spirit, freedom to meet with the living God within time and history, it is also an ordering that will not allow the life of the Church to be tied down to the temporal framework of mere succession on the stage of this world. The ordering of the Church's life and ministry in time means giving it such a new orientation within on-going time and all its limitations, that the time-forms of the Church's historical existence become *the signs of the new divine order* that already breaks in upon the Church in history. Thus for example the historical succession in the ordering of the ministry, far from involving the Church in bondage to the past, attests the binding of the Church to the historical Jesus, and so becomes the sign of the new ordering of the Church's life in Jesus Christ. Historical succession does not secure or guarantee the binding of the Church in Christ, for he, the risen and ascended Lord, is not bound by the forms of fallen time, for by his resurrection he has triumphed over them. Historical succession, however, binds the Church to that one time within our fallen history where the risen and ascended Lord keeps tryst with us as the Lord of all time and history, and where alone we may freely meet him. It attests the fact that, through relation to the historical Jesus, Christ binds us to himself on the ground of the historical incarnation, atonement, and resurrection, and declares that we cannot find any life or salvation in detachment from the historical Jesus.

All this is wonderfully enshrined in the Lord's Supper. "This do in remembrance of me." "As often as ye do this, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come." In the Supper the Church's life and ministry is so ordered that it is bound to the historical Jesus, to his death on the Cross, but at that very point in time, the Church is given to have communion with the risen and ascended Lord and to share in his New Humanity, and from the Supper it is sent out to proclaim that until he comes again. Thus the ordering of the Church's life and ministry should follow the pattern enshrined in the Lord's Supper. "For I have delivered unto you that which I also received . . ." It is celebrated in that succession or tradition, and it is ordered within that continuity, but within that continuity it

is the risen Christ, the Lord of the Supper, who comes through closed doors, through all the limitations of our fallen time and sinful history, and gives us to eat and drink with him in the new time of the Kingdom of God. While the Supper is to be ordered therefore within the historical continuity of the Church, it is such an ordering that room is left within it for the new time of the Kingdom, and in the presence of that new time all the historical time-forms of the Church are relativized and given new orientation—they are taken under the command of the risen and ascended Lord, are made obedient to his real presence, so that instead of being mere limitations to the Church's life and ministry they are the signs pointing beyond to the reality of the new time of the new creation. In so doing they are themselves transcended and made subordinate to communion with Christ in the time of his New Humanity.

3. *Order in regard to space and time.* Space and time cannot be separated in the Church. The Church on earth and in history is inescapably involved in space and time and in all the machinery of physical existence, for it is sent out to minister the Gospel in space and time. It is in that involvement with space and time that lies the significance of its order. The Church's very bodily and historical existence and mission require spatial and temporal order if it is to perform its divine purpose in space and time; but it can only live its life and fulfil its work in space and time, if its place on earth is ordered in obedience to its share in Christ's heavenly place, and if its time on earth is made obedient to its share in Christ's heavenly time. Church order concerns the ordering of the Church's life and ministry in the meeting of heaven and earth in the place of the Church, and in the intersection of historical continuity and immediate unity with the risen and ascended Christ. The place that the Church has in the space-time form of this world is not abrogated, but in that place the Church is given to share in the real presence of the New Man and the real time of the New Creation. Until Christ comes again to change the space-time form of this fallen world (not to eliminate it but to change and renew it), the Church shares in the real presence of the New Man and the real time of the New Creation, under the form of space and time as we know it in this on-going world, as under a veil, as in a mystery. The actual space of the Church, its physical place in this world, has to be regarded as the trysting place of Christ on earth; and the time of the Church, its

historical actuality has to be regarded as the time appointed by Christ for meeting with him. This space and this time have to be used therefore in obedience to his appointment, in subordination to the space and the time of the historical Jesus; that is, to the actual founding of the Church upon the rock of the Apostles and to the actual tradition of the historical Jesus which we have received from the Apostles. For it is in that obedience within the space-time form of the Church on earth to the historical Jesus that the Church goes into history as his servant, the obedient Body of which he is the Head. Only as that Body is it his Church. Therefore the ordering of the Church in space and time is concerned with its obedience to Christ, to the risen Lord in the space and time of the historical Jesus alone. Then it is, however, that through the Spirit Christ keeps tryst with his Church in history and bestows upon it his real presence, so that the time and place of the Church become Christ's own time and place among men. Then it is that the Church lives and works as the earthly and historical form of Christ's Body (as Karl Barth has called it), obedient to him, its risen Head and Lord, and as such it is the instrument he is pleased to use to proclaim his Word to all nations and to manifest himself to all who believe.

In all this the Church looks upon itself as covenanted with Christ, and as gathered into union and communion with him as his covenant-partner. Just as its historical succession in time and space does not secure or guarantee its unity with Christ, but only serves to attest its binding to him in the time and space of the historical Jesus, so the Church's obedience to the time and space of its foundation in the Apostles and to the Apostolic Tradition does not secure or guarantee that it is the Body of Christ. Throughout all its succession in the relativities and contingencies of our sinful history, throughout all its life of faith and obedience, in which the Church cannot but acknowledge its unfaithfulness and disobedience, the Church relies upon the New Covenant which Christ has made with it in his Body and Blood. It is only in that Covenant undergirding it in all its historical relativity and all its unfaithfulness that the Church's security rests. In obedience the Church relies not upon its own obedience but upon the obedience of Christ, and acknowledges that it is given a ground of faith and reliance beyond all the changes and chances of this passing world and all its own unworthiness. The Church can never justify itself, therefore, by claiming historical succession or doctrinal faithful-

ness, by reference to its own place and time on earth and in history; but it must cast itself upon the justification of Christ's grace alone and rely upon his covenant-mercies, who promised that the gates of hell would not prevail against his Church and that he would be in its midst until the end of the world. The ordering of the Church can never be allowed to assume a rôle of independence and authority, as if the duly ordered Church, even in its obedience to Christ, could be anything more than an unprofitable servant. Order must always be maintained in ever renewed amazement at the grace of God, and thankfulness for his undeserved grace and justification.

To sum up:

The Church is ordered in its life and ministry on earth,

(*a*) By being obedient to the historical Jesus Christ in space and time in the tradition of the Apostolic Church, in which he, the risen and ascended Christ, comes to rule and order the Church by his Word and Spirit, making it his Body and Servant in history;

(*b*) By sharing in the obedience of Jesus Christ in space and time through the communion of the Spirit in which he, the New Man, gives it to share in his New humanity as he, the Lord, undergirds it in all its frailty and weakness by his New Covenant, so that already it is given to abide in the life and time and order of the New Creation; and

(*c*) By looking beyond the historical and institutional forms of its ordering in space and time to the fulness of its life in Christ, who comes to meet it in mercy and judgement, and who at his *Parousia* will unveil the full reality of the Church in the glory of the Son of Man.

In this three-fold way the Church looks upon its ordering in the space and time of this on-going world as the required form of its obedience to Christ, or the attestation of its reliance upon the new Covenant founded for ever in the historical Jesus, as the sign that points to the new divine order of the Church's life communicated to it even now through Word and Sacrament in the Spirit, and as the provisional form given to it, until the redemption of the body, of the order of the new creation which will be revealed only at the final advent of Christ.

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A TRACTARIAN CLERGYMAN AND HIS FRIENDS

GORDON HUELIN

On 22 June 1839 there was consecrated the new ecclesiastical building of Christ Church, Hoxton, in East London. Three years earlier, Bishop Blomfield had put forward proposals for the construction of at least fifty new churches in his diocese. By the beginning of 1839, according to the report of the Metropolis Church Fund, four of these had been completed and were in use, and, of another three almost ready for consecration, was one in New North Road, Hoxton, in the parish of St Leonard, Shoreditch.

The population of the new district, many of whom were employed as workers on the Regent's Canal, numbered between eight and nine thousand. The first vicar, or to be strictly accurate, perpetual curate, was the Reverend William Scott, M.A. Born in London on 2 May 1813, Scott had been a pupil of Merchant Taylors' School, and was afterwards at Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1835. After ordination he was for three years curate, first at Castlethorpe in Buckinghamshire, then at Highgate, London, and finally at Christ Church, Albany Street, St Pancras, where his vicar was William Dodsworth, a friend of Dr Pusey, and a noted High Churchman, who, in the year 1851, as a result of the Gorham Judgement, seceded to Rome.[1]

Scott was perhaps in Oxford on that July day in 1833 when John Keble preached his "Assize Sermon", generally regarded as marking the beginning of the Oxford Movement. This, together with the influence of William Dodsworth, may have helped to mould him into one of those who were to carry on the Movement after the departure of Newman in 1845.

The plain though spacious edifice of Christ Church, Hoxton, with the parsonage adjoining, in which William Scott with his wife and family were to live for nearly twenty-one years—and which still stood until the Second World War—would not suggest to the historian or antiquary an exciting hunting-ground. It was the fact that in 1841, two years after his institution to the benefice, he became co-editor of the High-Church party organ the *Christian Remembrancer*, which very largely brought Scott into close relationship with many of the leading ecclesiastics of the day, and more particularly with those sympathetic towards Tractarianism.

Moreover, important correspondence that has recently come to hand sheds new light upon this Tractarian clergyman and his friends.[2] One of the most interesting of these letters is that headed "Littlemore. Febr 6/44". Two years earlier, John Henry Newman had written to Keble, asking for a copy of the latter's Protest. "It is", he added, "for a good man, as I believe him, though I do not know him—Mr. Scott, the republisher of 'Lawrence on Lay Baptism'."[3] By 1844 Newman was far less happy about his place in the Anglican Communion, and his letter to Scott of 6 February contains a clear indication regarding these doubts:

> Accept my best thanks for the painfully interesting Pamphlet you have sent me. Its first impression on my mind was to make me question whether I should not suspend the intention I had some time formed & only not executed through dilatoriness, of withdrawing my name from the Society's List—but I believe this doubt is passing away from me. For a long time a person of my opinions has no business in a Society which by him must be accounted so heterodox. Its founders were expelled from it when their works were altered and corrupted, and individuals may well follow them.
>
> What weighs with me most is the Society's most miserable advances towards the heretical bodies in the East. I doubt whether it is lawful to have part or lot in such a Society.
>
> Indeed the general look of things is such that one may well doubt *what* it is safe to have lot and part in, any where.
>
> It looks as if there were some desperate hidden wound or malady somewhere, of which this unsoundness from sole of the foot unto the head is but symptomatic.
>
> Under these circumstances one cannot but feel respect and gratitude towards persons such as the Author of the Pamphlet you have sent me, who are hoping against hope and renewing their exertions in spite of past defeats.[4]

In 1844, the *Christian Remembrancer* became a quarterly, instead of a monthly, periodical, with William Scott and James B. Mozley, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, as joint editors. When, some years later, owing to a change of theological viewpoint, Mozley severed his connections with the *Christian Remembrancer*, the responsibility for its production fell entirely upon Scott's shoulders.

It is in a letter of 17 May 1845, in reply to Mozley, that Scott gives expression to what must have been the feelings of many at the news of the irretrievable step taken by Newman:

> Of course, in a way, one had for some time attempted to realise what must be, but it is just the same as attempting to realise losing wife or child. I for one have always, in my measure, leant upon Newman,—though I am scarcely acquainted with him—lived upon him, made him my other and better nature; so the crash is to me most overpowering. I dare not criticize any action of his; he is in gifts and acquirements and in all other ways so infinitely above me that I cannot argue about the matter, only feel and this of course selfishly. I cannot follow him. I have no calls that way.[5]

Scott would never follow Newman. His loyalty to, and his love for, the Church of England were too great. His course was to be the harder one of helping to bear the banner of Tractarianism in days when it was extremely unpopular. And it was in his own parish that his ideals became apparent. Preaching at Christ Church on the dedication festival in 1846, Scott said:

> Seven years have now elapsed since, by the chief earthly Shepherd of this flock, I was intrusted with pastoral care over this place, and with a commission to administer the evangelical means of grace to you . . . My aim has been to give abundant services, to establish schools, to encourage visiting, and the practical charity of alms-deeds . . . It was with the same aim that I have established the service of morning and evening prayer daily, and at least, some order and decency, if not some dignity, in the conduct of Divine Worship; first for the glory of God, and next for the salvation of men.[6]

Scott's Tractarianism expressed itself more especially in his endeavour to beautify what the *Guardian* described as "architecturally a cold grim specimen of that which during the later days of William IV, Mr Blore believed to be Norman",[7] and what the *Churchman's Companion* referred to as "a bare parallelogram with large galleries round three of its sides upon cast-iron pillars, with a small chancel concealed behind the [then] usual range of three boxes, step-fashion, of pulpit, reading, and clerk's desk".[8] By Easter 1849 all this was changed. The altar had been brought into due prominence, and for the "three-decker" there had been substituted on one side of the church a light and more suitable pulpit, and on the other a reading desk. The chancel and sanctuary had been decorated, and the ceiling painted a deep blue with gold stars.

Scott also put his choir into surplices, and established fully choral services on Sundays. Yet, even though his ceremonial was mild as

compared with that of certain of his brethren, it did not pass without criticism, whilst he himself from time to time became the object of violent attack. He received unpleasant letters, signed "Verax", or "A True Protestant", demanding the removal of the altar candlesticks, the ending of the Puseyite or Popish practices, and the abolition of the chanting in the services and of the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit. He must, at this time, have been considerably cheered on receiving a letter signed by some sixty members of his congregation, who declared that they had heard with much sorrow that the peace which had hitherto existed among them was likely to be disturbed. They knew that their distress could but be small as compared with that of their incumbent, and they were therefore anxious to assure him that they had no sympathy whatever with the complaints. Moreover, they desired him to know that they would suffer a loss in the abandonment of any of those observances to which, under his ministry, they had grown accustomed.

An occasion of a more personal sorrow occurred during these Hoxton years. Scott had, in 1835, married Margaret Beloe, granddaughter of the Reverend William Beloe, the translator of Herodotus. Several children were born to them at Christ Church Vicarage, including Clement Scott, afterwards the celebrated nineteenth-century dramatic critic. One infant however, did not long survive, for the first page of the second register of Baptisms in the parish of Christ Church contains this entry in Scott's own handwriting: "Page 1. Register of Burials in the Church of Christ Church Hoxton, Middlesex. No. 1 Alban Scott, aged 20 months: son of William Scott, Perpetual Curate of Christ Church Hoxton, died 7 July 1847, buried 9 July by (sgd.) Henry Bedford."[9]

The sadness of the event must have been increased for the bereaved father by a communication addressed to the Bishop of London, by Mr Richard Williams of Brudenell-place, Hoxton, who accused Scott of having illegally taken up the paving in Christ Church, and having buried his child "with all the pomp and pride of a superstitious Roman".

In Scott's day such things aroused a far greater stir than they do now. He himself would often tell how, when three years later in 1850, he was taking part with a few other friends in a service to mark the dedication festival at St Andrew's, Wells-street, with ceremonial which nowadays would be regarded as quite "moder-

ate", he and the rest were forced to leave the church with haste, and to take refuge in the verger's house for fear of mob violence.

It was during the years at Christ Church that numerous pamphlets and sermons by Scott were published. Among them was *A Letter to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, M.A., Vicar of Islington, occasioned by his recent "Appeal to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England"*. This went into four editions within a year, and led once more to Scott and his church becoming the target for criticism. *The Ratepayer and Parish of Islington Chronicle* in an article entitled "Puseyism v. Evangelicalism" was particularly bitter. "Christ Church, Hoxton", it ran, "we also regard as one of the transition class [i.e. to Rome], for although it does not, as yet, boast of a rood loft, and lacks several of the Popish decorations of other places [e.g. Margaret Chapel, or the Church of St Barnabas, Pimlico], we believe that the wants do not spring out of any distaste for such furniture, but are solely to be attributed to a lack of £. s. d. Whatever, too, Mr. Scott may assert to the contrary, we boldly say, and without fear of contradiction, that the doctrines taught in Christ Church, Hoxton, are of a *Romanizing* tendency. Mr. Scott has not yet gone to the excess of several of his friends, but he is *progressing*; and it would not at all surprise us to find, some day or other, an announcement in the *Tablet* that the Rev. Wm Scott and family have been admitted into the Holy Catholic Church by Father Oakley."[10]

Scott's connections must have brought men of scholarship and of prominence to the pulpit of Christ Church. We have it from his correspondence that among those whom he invited to preach were Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury, and H. E. (afterwards Cardinal) Manning, but neither was able to accept the invitation.[11]

If, as is unfortunately the case, there are few letters among these which relate to the Oxford Movement during its first phase from 1833 until 1845, the year of Newman's secession, there is much at hand concerning that second major blow from which the Movement suffered—the Gorham Judgement. Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, so deeply involved in these troubles, became a close friend of Scott, and was constantly seeking his help and advice, as well as his support through the columns of the *Christian Remembrancer*. Scott did in fact make noble efforts to assist him, both in the periodical for which he was responsible, and in the *Morning Post*, the leading Church paper of that day.

Late in the year 1849 however, Scott was suffering from an illness which necessitated his going abroad for a while. Thus it happened that at the precise moment when the celebrated judgement was pronounced in favour of the Reverend George Cornelius Gorham and against the Right Reverend Henry of Exeter, Scott was recuperating in Madeira. It was there that he received a lengthy epistle from the aggrieved Bishop, expressing his views of the case:

> The excitement which it has caused—the indignation which has been expressed—the earnest assertion of Catholic Truth, and display of Catholic feeling, which it has evoked—have far exceeded my utmost hopes. I am myself the fly upon the Chariot Wheel—but I rejoice to say, that I have not been betrayed for a single instant into a forgetfulness that I am only the fly. Much—very much—I have to humbly and thankfully acknowledge—of kindness, sympathy, and even honour—which, far beyond my utmost estimate of my own poor doings, has poured in upon me.

The letter ends:

> You kindly ask me, whether I have any wish for you to do anything for me in Spain. My health requires that I sh. be very choice in my only Beverage, *Sherry*. If you have any *special* interest (*not else*) with any House, wh. deals in Sherry, & can procure for me a *very* superior Cask, I shall be thankful: especially, if you will broach it with me at Bishopstowe. Farewell.[12]

The case of the Reverend G. C. Gorham was not the only difficulty which faced the Bishop of Exeter at this period. At Plymouth, situated in his diocese, Miss Priscilla Lydia Sellon's attempt to form an Anglican sisterhood, and to run an Orphan Home in the town as one of its works of mercy, had aroused intense opposition.[13] We learn much concerning this from a letter of Phillpotts to Scott—and incidentally, of the courageous part which the Bishop himself played at the public inquiry held to investigate a number of infamous charges brought against the Home:

> The task was a heavy one, lasting 7 Hours. I had to put every question—for if I had suffered the questioners to put them, the confusion would have been fatal—I had to watch many rebellious faces—and to put down much that was most silly, more that was most unfair, and some that was hardly manly.

And, regarding Miss Sellon:

> I drew forth from her in detail, and repeated in the most distinct and deliberate tone, the course of her action—the way in which she tamed the little savages around her—the proofs of their attachment, of their delight in her instruction—as well as of her many other works of love. But all this the stupid journalist of Exeter has reduced to two or three vague and unmeaning phrases . . . I especially and strongly desired Miss Sellon to adhere to the name of *"Sisters of Mercy"*. Once, I shd. have been willing to see this surrendered; but after the brutality wh. she has experienced, nothing is to be surrendered wh. in itself is good.[14]

And, in a letter of the following day:

> Of what I said, what I most lament to see omitted, was my thanking Miss Sellon for having at length rescued our Church from the reproach of being unable to rear any Sisters of Mercy.[15]

It is from his correspondence with Scott that we learn much of the last years of Henry Phillpotts. In October 1863, the Bishop wrote thanking Scott for his sympathy upon the death of his wife, "for more than 59 years the partner of my joys and griefs".[16] Henceforth, the aged man was to be cared for by his daughter, Mrs Sybella Du Bouley, who took over her father's correspondence. "Pray tell Mrs. Scott that within the last few months my Father has again been able to make use of her stick, with that to support him on one side, and the servant aiding him on the other, he is able to walk along the corridor", she wrote, early in 1867.[17]

But though weak in body, the Bishop remained alert in mind, and he was continually seeking his friend's opinions on matters of political importance, and on burning questions of the day, such as the disestablishment of the Irish Church.[18] In May 1869, Mrs Du Bouley wrote asking Scott to remember her father on Ascension Day when he would enter upon his ninety-second year. She also wished to know the name of the layman who had written the Life of Bishop Ken, a book she had been reading to her father, since it was a favourite with him.[19] A little over four months later, the old man passed quietly and peacefully from this world in his daughter's arms.[20]

William Scott made other friendships through his associations with the Ecclesiological Society, to whose members he had given, in 1848, a paper *On Wooden Churches*,[21] and of which he later

became an Honorary Secretary. At its meetings he would have had contact with the distinguished Tractarian scholar, J. M. Neale of East Grinstead, who was responsible for several articles in the *Christian Remembrancer*.

There was also R. W. Church, who wrote a letter to a friend, declaring that he was in a rage with Scott, who had asked him for an article for the *Christian Remembrancer*, and then found there was no room for it, "being as usual somewhat bulky".[22] For all that, many of the contributions from the pen of the future Dean of St Paul's first saw the light of day in the columns of this periodical.

Then too, there was that vigorous High Church protagonist, Archdeacon Denison, who, as he secretly revealed in a letter to Scott, wished to "face the enemy" with a second series of *Tracts for the Times*. He himself would have liked to begin such a series with a re-issue of Tract XCI, but Scott evidently raised strong objections to this proposal.[23]

Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, entered into correspondence with Scott, and on various occasions invited him to be his guest. In a letter of January 1854, J. B. Mozley wrote from Oxford:

> Scott stayed a day here on his way to Cuddesdon, where he has been staying, consulting with the Bishop on Convocation matters. They are in doubt as to their course. Archdeacon Wilberforce was there and attended two of the election meetings. The Bishop is a friend of Sir William Heathcote. Scott seems to get on with him very well, and is getting quite an "amicus curiae" of the episcopal bench; though to see him in his travelling costume he is more like a foreign cavalry officer than an Anglican ecclesiastic, clad in bearskins and cloaks of the highest lay order.[24]

In 1861, Bishop Wilberforce set out in a letter to Scott—and sought his advice upon—the mode of procedure which he was proposing to adopt whereby the House of Bishops should pronounce a condemnation against the lately published *Essays and Reviews*, which Wilberforce regarded as being "erroneous and of dangerous tendency".[25]

Yet another of Scott's acquaintances was William Dyce, who was a member of the Royal Academy, and was responsible for the internal decorations of various churches, including that of All Saints' Margaret Street, London, as well as having a part in the design of the east window of Christ Church, Hoxton. Dyce was

deeply interested in theology and patristic writings, and there are numerous letters of his to Scott, dealing with points of ritual and of church history.

A reminder of the vastly different conditions of life around London a century ago, is brought out in a letter of Dyce, written from his home at Norwood, Surrey, wherein he asks if Scott will act as godfather to his baby daughter, and then goes on:

> The distance to there from Hoxton is so great that I feel ashamed to ask you to be present at the Baptism except by proxy: but it would give me great pleasure to see you here: and if Mrs. Scott is not afraid of so lengthy an omnibus journey you might make a pleasant enough expedition, enjoy a day's country air and do the Crystal Palace en passant.[26]

From his early days at Christ Church, St Pancras, Scott had begun to gather together tracts and pamphlets on a variety of subjects. Later, as editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*, he would have received many more, mainly sent to him for the purpose of review. What became a vast pamphlet collection,[27] bound in volumes, many of them indexed on the front cover in Scott's own neat handwriting, is now housed in the Library of Sion College, London, of which Scott was President in 1858.

Among this valuable collection there is one tract that differs from the vast majority, since it deals neither with theology nor with ecclesiology—but with fishing![28] That Scott was a keen angler appears from an invitation which he received in 1858 from the Duke of Newcastle:

> Are you up to another assault upon the Pike at Clumber? If you are, come on the 11th Octr. or any day that week, and I hope you will find a pleasant party and greedy fish.[29]

It seems clear both from his own letters and from those of his friends, that, for some time, Scott had been desirous of a move from Hoxton. On 1 January 1860, Bishop Phillpotts wrote:

> Let me begin the New Year, however inauspiciously, with a groan! and even a complaint! How, rather wherefore do the dispensers of Church Patronage leave you still at Hoxton? You are really one of the most useful, as well as most able of the Clergy of our Church—and yet you are suffered to remain in a position, not only far below your deservings, but also not within a proper sphere of usefulness. Before I knew you, now twelve or fourteen years ago, you had distinguished yourself as the able, learned and sound Editor of the

ablest, most learned, and soundest of our Church's literary periodicals—a periodical never disgraced by Party violence, or unseemliness of any kind—Such I regard the Xn. Remem.

On the 20th of that same month, a note was despatched to Scott from his friend W. E. Gladstone, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer. In it, Gladstone stated that he had just learned with great pleasure that the Lord Chancellor intended to present Scott to the vacant living of St Olave Jewry, in the City of London.

Not so much information concerning Scott is to be had during the twelve years that he was a City incumbent. We know that he continued with his literary pursuits. Also, that he strongly supported the scheme for restoration work at St Paul's Cathedral, and himself for a while acted as honorary secretary of the committee appointed for the purpose. The *Christian Remembrancer* ceased to exist after 1868, and the bulk of the correspondence which has formed the basis of this article comes to an end even before that date.

Scott died in 1872 of a spinal infection, at the comparatively early age of 58. A year later, William Maskell, the ecclesiastical antiquary, and a former chaplain to Bishop Phillpotts, who had continued to write to Scott, even though he had himself seceded to Rome, was endeavouring to sell some books on Mrs Scott's behalf.[30]

In the vestry of the church of St John the Baptist, Hoxton, with which Christ Church is now united, there is a painting showing Scott in surplice, hood, scarf, and bands, and holding in his hands a chalice and paten.

It was in a letter to his sister Elizabeth that, on receiving the news of Scott's death, J. B. Mozley wrote:

> I have often thought that there is a curious caprice in the arrangements of life, which makes one see absolutely nothing of some with whom one has been intimate, and whose society would make a difference in life, and a great deal of others who are nothing at all to one. For twenty years, I have seen hardly anything of Scott, and yet there was no reason why I should not fall in with him any day, and have an intimate conversation with him. He was thoroughly good-hearted, and a cynic with it. This is not the incongruous combination which it might seem; if well tempered, it is a good one. *The Guardian* memorial is not well done—too taken up with externals, boards, committees, meetings, and other fussinesses. There certainly was something very sterling about him, a true ring; and

that in spite of seeming levities in him. I don't think I ever knew any one that I could feel more sure about behaving quite well to one in any complication and trying test, where he could not be found out if he behaved ill.[31]

Such was the last tribute paid to this Tractarian clergyman by one of his friends.

[1] Art. "William Scott", *D. N. B.*, vol. LI [1897], pp. 112-13; and the *Guardian*, 17 January 1872.

[2] I am deeply indebted to Mr A. Beresford-Peirse of Alnwick, for putting at my disposal the unpublished correspondence of his great-grandfather, the Rev. William Scott, which forms the basis of this article. Also, to the Rev. J. Churchill, M.A., Chaplain of King's College, London, through whose good offices I was introduced to Mr Beresford-Peirse. The letters have now been presented to the Library of Sion College, London.

[3] *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, edited by Anne Mozley, London 1891, vol. II, pp. 395-6.

[4] Fr Stephen Dessain, the Superior of the Birmingham Oratory, has kindly given permission for the publication of this Newman letter, as well as furnishing the following information which throws light upon its content: "I have looked through JHN's collection of tracts and identified the one referred to in his letter to William Scott. It is entitled '*Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on Doctrinal Changes lately introduced into the Series of Tracts circulated under their Authority*', and has no name of author, but at the bottom of the title page London: sold by Burns, Portman Street; Stewart, King William Street; Leslie Darling, Great Queen Street. Also by J. H. Parker, Oxford; and T. Stevenson, Cambridge. 1844. (58 pp.)

"On page 10 of the tract will be found a reference to the way the founders of the Society were treated, as in the first paragraph of JHN's letter, and on page 50 to 'the Society's most miserable advances towards the heretical bodies in the East', as in the second paragraph."

[5] *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, edited by his sister, Anne Mozley, London, 1885, pp. 168-9.

[6] *Christian Thank-Offerings for Christian Privileges.* A Sermon preached at Christ Church, Hoxton, on the seventh anniversary of its dedication feast, 22 June 1846, by William Scott. London, 1848 (not published).

[7] *Guadian*, 17 January 1872.

[8] *Churchman's Companion*, May 1849.

[9] I was allowed to see this register, as well as the painting of William Scott, by the kindness of the Rev. A. F. M. Langley, Rector of St John the Baptist, Hoxton, who is now in charge of the parish of Christ Church.

[10] Scott Pamphlet Collection, Sion College Library, vol. LXIV.

[11] Hamilton to Scott, 18 March 1856, 24 January 1857, and 18 May 1861; Manning to Scott, 18 June 1846.

[12] Phillpotts to Scott, 7 May 1850.

[13] T. J. Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon*, London, 1950, esp. ch. 7.

[14] Phillpotts to Scott, 17 February 1849.

[15] Ditto, 18 February 1849.

[16] Ditto, 28 October 1863.

17 Mrs Du Bouley to Scott, 4 February 1867. The stick was a present to the Bishop from Mrs Scott.

18 Phillpotts to Scott, 23 March 1868.

19 Mrs Du Bouley to Scott, 4 May 1869. The "layman" was J. L. Anderson (*The Life of Thomas Ken*, London, 1854).

20 Mrs Du Bouley to Scott, 18 September 1869.

21 Scott Pamphlet Collection, Sion College Library, vol. XLV.

22 Church to Manuel Johnson, 2 January 1855, in *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, edited by his daughter Mary C. Church, London, 1895, p. 145.

23 Denison to Scott, 21 January 1851 and "King Charles Martyr—51".

24 *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, p. 224.

25 Wilberforce to Scott, 23 January 1861.

26 Dyce to Scott, 20 October 1854.

27 The Librarian of Sion College, Miss M. E. Edmonston, B.A., kindly acquainted me with this pamphlet collection.

28 Richard Penn, *Maxims and Hints on Angling &c; also Miseries of Fishing*", London, 1855, in Scott Tract Collection, Sion College Library, vol. 31.

29 Newcastle to Scott, 27 September 1858.

30 Maskell to Mrs Scott, 7 September 1873.

31 *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, p. 321.

THE ST ANTHOLIN LECTURES

ISABEL M. CALDER

THE first St Antholin lecture was delivered on Thursday, 21 September 1559, at six o'clock in the morning at the Church of St Antholin, Budge Row, London. Nearly four hundred years later the Church of St Antholin has disappeared, but the St Antholin lectures, now delivered at the Church of St Mary Aldermary, continue. It is the object of this paper to outline briefly the story of the lectures.

The Elizabethan Vestiarian Controversy. Early on the morning of 17 November 1558, Mary Tudor died and was succeeded on the throne of England by her half-sister, Elizabeth. With the accession of the new queen, several hundred Marian exiles returned to England from voluntary exile in the Rhine Valley and Switzerland. During their five years on the Continent many of them had intensified their contacts with John Calvin and his disciples and "had advanced far beyond the standard" of Protestantism "set by Edward's Second Prayer Book". They returned to England, some to accept the rites and ceremonies of the Elizabethan Church as matters of indifference and to hold office in the Anglican Church rather than to surrender that Church to non-Anglicans; some to oppose the rites and ceremonies of the Elizabethan Church and to become the embryo of the Elizabethan Puritan party.[1]

Forced to accept Protestantism by the accident of birth, Elizabeth had no desire to go the full distance toward Calvinism. Personally, she preferred a celibate clergy, and liked display, ceremony, light, colour. But Elizabeth was a realist who sought self-preservation and power, and was not deeply interested in religion. The Act of Supremacy of April 1559 made the Crown "supreme governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, . . . " but permitted "a much wider toleration than had ever been practised before".[2]

Failing to win acceptance of the doctrines of Geneva, the Elizabethan Puritans took advantage of the toleration at first permitted them. Without regular livings, all over England Puritan lecturers expounded the Word on the Sabbath and on weekdays, at first without opposition.[3] The St Antholin lectureships in London date from the first year of Elizabeth. Says a sixteenth-century diaryist under date of Thursday, 21 September 1559, "be-gane the

nuw mornyng prayer at sant Antholyns in Boge-row, after Geneve fassyon,—be-gyne to rynge at v in the mornyng; men and women all do syng, and boys".[4]

The Church of St Antholin was located at the junction of Budge Row and St Sythe's Lane in Cordwainer Street Ward. Its patron was the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral. From the date of the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, the rectors of St Antholin's had been more Protestant than their Supreme Head. In 1559 William Colwyn was rector.[5]

There is at first no evidence of the number of early morning preachers. When the vestiarian controversy reached its climax in 1566, three lecturers took turns preaching by candlelight at six o'clock each weekday morning.[6] For an hour before the lecture one of the smaller church bells tolled.[7] For their efforts the lecturers received a yearly stipend which amounted to £6 in 1576-7.[8] The vestry of the parish probably chose the lecturers and the churchwardens administered the lectureships.

In the religiously-minded age in which they were founded, the St Antholin lectures met with approval and support. At first annual collections were made in the parish for the benefit of the morning preachers, the parish augmenting the sum when it was insufficient and receiving the excess when the collection was unusually good.[9] Pious inhabitants of St Antholin's and the neighbouring parishes remembered the enterprise in their final testaments, sometimes with an annuity of a few shillings to £6, sometimes with a gift of from £10 to £120.

In the long procession of St Antholin lecturers, marching three, four, five, and finally six abreast, a clear view of the individual lecturer can be caught only occasionally. A first glimpse reveals the group in conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities. By the autumn of 1564 Elizabeth was demanding uniformity of clerical dress. The Elizabethan bishops had at first opposed the use of "papistical habits" but eventually decided not to desert their ministries for usages not evil in themselves.[10] Upon the outbreak of the vestiarian controversy in 1565, they wrote for the opinions of Henry Bullinger and Rodolph Gualter of Zürich. The Swiss reformers were opposed to the use of vestments but advised their English friends not to surrender their churches to Papists and Lutherans for a matter of indifference.[11] Acting on this advice, on 26 March 1566 the Archbishop of Canterbury and others of the Council, ecclesiastical

commissioners meeting at Lambeth Palace, ordered the ministers in and around London to wear the prescribed vestments.[12] In the ensuing revolt the three lecturers at St Antholin's—Robert Crowley, John Philpott, and John Gough—were the most earnest withstanders of the laws of the realm.[13]

Robert Crowley was the ringleader, not only of his St Antholin colleagues, but of the London clergy opposed to vestments. He was a graduate of Oxford and sometime a printer and bookseller of Ely Rents, Holborn. He had accepted the doctrines of the Reformation and was ordained deacon and priest in 1551. Under Mary he fled to the Continent and during his exile supported the Anglican Church against the extreme Calvinists in Frankfort. With the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, where he preached at Paul's Cross as early as 15 October 1559.[14] As Archdeacon of Hereford, he subscribed to the Articles of Religion in 1562. Four years later he was one of the lecturers at St Antholin's, rector of St Peter's le Poer, vicar of St Giles, Cripplegate, and prebendary of Mora in St Paul's Cathedral. On 2 April 1566, he replied to the order of 26 March 1566, by denying six surplice-clad clerks heading a funeral party admission to St Giles. The Lord Mayor of London sent Archbishop Parker to examine the cause of the stir in Crowley's church. On 4 April 1566, Crowley was brought before the ecclesiastical commissioners, discharged from his flock and parish, and ordered to keep to his house. Thomas Bickley, chaplain to Archbishop Parker and subsequently Bishop of Chichester, was sent to preach at St Giles on the following Sunday. In May 1566, Crowley was summoned before the Privy Council for disregarding the order not to preach and compiling the opinions of the dissenting London ministers and publishing them as *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell and ministring garmentes of the popishe church* (London, 1566), and given eight days to visit his friends and connections and then placed in the custody of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, for as long as the Queen and Council should think fit.[15] By 27 October 1566, the Bishop of Ely wished to be relieved of his charge, and the Privy Council ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to hear and order the case.[16] In November 1566, Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal granted Crowley permission to return to London for twelve days to attend to personal business but forbade him to preach, read, or administer the sacraments in the city. At the expiration of the twelve days he

was given his liberty but forbidden to dwell within twenty miles of London.[17] As a result of his conflict with the authorities, Crowley lost his offices, and in 1569 was living in retirement in Southwark.[18] On 29 September 1574, he preached a sermon at the Guildhall, London; on 27 June 1576, he was appointed to the vicarage of St Lawrence, Jewry, London; on 9 May 1578, he was reappointed vicar of St Giles, Cripplegate; and in 1576-7 he was again lecturing at St Antholin's and enjoying the £6 annuity bequeathed by William Parker the elder in 1576 to be bestowed upon a learned preacher to read a lecture of divinity two days in the week forever.[19]

Of the audience at the St Antholin lectures, less is known than of the lecturers. Henry Machyn, to whose diary we are indebted for the date when the lectures were established, was a citizen and merchant taylor living in the parish of Holy Trinity the Less, Queenhithe, London, from 1550 to 1563. Although his sympathies were with the Catholicism of Queen Mary's day, he was interested in and attended the sermons multiplied by the new preachers under Queen Elizabeth.[20]

Early Stuart Puritans. In the early seventeenth century the number of the lecturers, still chosen by the vestry of the parish, increased to four in 1620-1 and to five in 1623-4. The annual stipend of the lecturers was £17 in 1617-18, £16 in 1618-19, £12 in 1620-1 when a fourth lecturer was added, and varied with the individual lecturer between £16 16s. and £20 from 1621 to 1624.[21] About 1603 £168 16s. 8d. was collected in the parish to endow the lectures and thus render further annual collections unnecessary.[22] The parish bought the house of Richard Venn in Soper Lane, later Queen Street, for £600 in 1616, which thereafter brought in an annual rent of £4 and fine of £45.[23] In 1621-2 annual collections for the benefit of the lecturers were resumed.[24] In the same year the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London agreed to make an annual contribution of £40 towards the cost of the lectures.[25] In 1624-5 the parish used £160 that had come to it as gifts for the lectures to lease the house of one Willis, which thereafter yielded a return of £13 *per annum* for the duration of the lease.[26]

For a few brief years management of the St Antholin lectures passed from the churchwardens of the parish to a group of thirteen London Puritans, the so-called feoffees for the purchase of impropriations.[27]

About 1627 one hundred and ninety-eight men and women in and

about London subscribed £1554 13s. 4d., £1054 13s. 4d. paid to the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations at the time and £500 to be paid to them by the hand of Francis Bridges in May 1631. At the request of the subscribers, the company of feoffees reluctantly undertook the management of the St Antholin lectures and agreed to increase the stipend of each lecturer to £30 *per annum*.

To increase the endowment of the St Antholin lectureships, in May 1628 the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations bought the impropriation pertaining to the Church of St Andrew, Presteigne, in the counties of Hereford and Radnor, at a cost of £1400. The purchase proved to be a good investment and in four and one-half years yielded £526 15s. 8d. in tithes from the parish of St Andrew, Presteigne. The feoffees for the purchase of impropriations expended £115 14s. of this amount to repair the chancel of St Andrew, Presteigne, and paid £318 15s. to the lecturers at St Antholin's, London, and £35 to Charles Offspring, the rector of that church and one of the feoffees.

Management of the St Antholin lectures enabled the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations to train a Puritan ministry to fill the growing number of livings at their disposal. They filled vacancies in the lectureships by nominating two candidates for each vacancy, and the rector of St Antholin's, at the time one of the feoffees, admitted one of the nominees as lecturer. The feoffees ruled that after six years of service at St Antholin's, London, the lecturers were to be dispersed through England, some at least to fill other livings controlled by the feoffees. In other words, the St Antholin lectureships were to serve as a seminary for the training of a Puritan ministry.

By 17 March 1629, the number of early morning lecturers at St Antholin's had increased to six, and remained at that point for more than two hundred years.

The St Antholin lecturers of early Stuart times were likely to belong to the Puritan faction of the Church of England. Among them were Thomas Foxley, Zachary Symmes, and John Archer.

Thomas Foxley had been admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1597. He was one of the early morning lecturers at St Antholin's in the year 1622-3 and the years following. When the Puritan feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were organized about 1625, he associated himself with the group. When

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC LIBRARY

they acquired control of the St Antholin lectureships about 1628, he was taken into their employ and paid £30 *per annum*. After the dissolution of the company of feoffees in 1633, Foxley was brought before the Privy Council in May 1639 for preaching against the government of the Church of England and refusing to take the oath *ex officio*. On the order of the Council, he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, "in a Chamber not four yards square", without pen, ink, or paper. When the Long Parliament assembled, he was speedily released, and stood in high favour with Parliament.[28]

Zachary Symmes of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, holder of the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, seems to have served his apprenticeship in preaching as one of the early morning lecturers at St Antholin's, London, for two of his children were baptized at St Antholin's, on 22 July 1623 and 24 January 1625. When the feoffees acquired the impropriation of the priory church of St Peter at Dunstable, Bedfordshire, in April 1625, they got rid of an incumbent who was unsatisfactory to them and installed Symmes as curate. Over a seven-year period, the feoffees paid Symmes the ecclesiastical revenue of St Peter's, Dunstable, plus £20 a year. After the dissolution of the feoffees, Symmes betook himself to New England, where he was admitted to the church at Charlestown in 1634, chosen teacher of that church in the same year, and pastor in 1637.[29]

John Archer, possibly Master of Arts of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was Wednesday early morning lecturer at St Antholin's on 24 February 1629, and was remembered as one who had lectured at St Antholin's on 29 August 1630. He was present at a General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company on 25 November 1629, and was made free of the company. He next appeared as Sunday afternoon preacher at All Hallows', Lombard Street, London. For not catechizing in harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, he was suspended, censured, and deprived of his office by Bishop Laud, but submitted and seems to have been restored to office. Upon the request of Gabriel Barber, donor of the advowson of All Saints', Hertford, to the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations, and the people of Hertford, the company of feoffees presented him to the vicarage of the church at Hertford, where he was instituted on 3 May 1631 and enjoyed all profits of the living plus £60 a year paid by the feoffees. On 13 July 1638 he had been

absent from his charge for more than a year and stood suspended by the Crown.[30]

There are a few scraps about the audience in these days. In his youth William Lilly the astrologer "went early to St Atholine's in London, where there was every morning a sermon". At about this time, he tells us, he "leaned in judgment to Puritanism".[31]

As a fifteen-year-old apprentice running away from his master, William Kiffin was so impressed by a sermon on the Fifth Commandment by Foxley at St Antholin's that he returned to his master and resolved to attend the preaching of the Puritans.[32]

1633-62 Dissenters. Following the dissolution of the company of feoffees by the equity side of the Court of Exchequer on 13 February 1633, the churchwardens of St Antholin's parish resumed the management of the six early morning lectures at the Church of St Antholin. On 9 April 1652, a vestry of the parish ordered that all gifts to the lecturers should be viewed and registered in a book kept for that purpose.[33] On 27 October, 1653, a vestry authorized the senior churchwarden to care for the books and writings relating to the lecturers' property, receive rents and gifts, and pay the lecturers their quarterly stipends, and ordered that in the future the senior churchwarden should manage the lecturers' business and accounts.[34] The vestry appointed feoffees or trustees to sign leases of real property owned by the parish to endow the St Antholin lectureships. Thus, on 20 November 1654, a vestry chose a group of sixteen plus the rector and the churchwardens as feoffees for the house in Soper Lane.[35]

The dissolution of the company of feoffees in 1633 on 13 February deprived the St Antholin lecturers of a sizable part of their endowment. Gifts that had been made directly to the parish of St Antholin for the lecturers were retained by the parish and enjoyed by the lecturers. Title to all property and rights acquired by the company of feoffees, including the impropriation of St Andrew's, Presteigne, and the right to present a vicar to that church, however, bought by the company of feoffees at a cost of £1400 to endow the St Antholin lectures in London, passed to the Crown.

Attempts of the parish of St Antholin to recover the lost endowment and rights met with only temporary success. In 1639 Charles I returned the impropriation of St Andrew's, Presteigne, to the parish to which it belonged.[36] On 1 August 1643, the Long

Parliament ordered the return of the ecclesiastical revenue of St Andrew's, Presteigne, to the surviving feoffees.[37] The House of Lords reversed the 1633 decree of the Court of Exchequer on 8 March 1648, but an order to restore the property of the feoffees to the surviving feoffees was not acted upon by the House of Commons.[38] On 26 December 1650, the parish of St Antholin authorized a lawsuit to recover the income of Presteigne, and in Hilary term 1651 such a suit was pending in Chancery.[39] Between 19 January and 8 December 1656, Charles Offspring, rector of St Antholin's and a former feoffee, received £433 from Francis Winckbridge, collector of tithes at Presteigne, less £12 short in the receipts.[40]

Gifts to the parish for the benefit of the lecturers continued through the 1630s, 1640s, and 1650s.

After the dissolution of the feoffees and the loss of the ecclesiastical revenue of St Andrew's, Presteigne, the stipends of the lecturers fell. In 1660 each lecturer was receiving £20 *per annum*, which seems to have been more than the lecturers received in the years immediately preceding 1660.[41]

The lecturers were chosen by the vestry of the parish at a meeting in December of each year. Ordinarily the incumbents of the lectureships were re-elected year after year until resignation or death. Real elections occurred only occasionally, and on dates other than the regular election day, to fill vacancies caused by resignation or death. The vestry was jealous of its right to elect the lecturers, and maintained it against an occasional incumbent who claimed a life interest in his lectureship.[42] In 1661 one of the morning lecturers was preaching a Sunday evening sermon.[43]

On 15 March 1655, Charles Offspring, the other surviving feoffees being absent in the country, tried to revive the right of the company of feoffees to nominate two candidates for each vacancy among the St Antholin lecturers. At that time Offspring nominated Stephen Watkins, who had been lecturer from 1649 to 1654, and Zachary Crofton for the Friday morning lectureship. On the following day, 16 March 1655, a vestry of the parish chose Crofton, who was presented to the triers according to the ordinance.[44]

The bell no longer tolled for a full hour before each morning lecture. A vestry of 24 February 1652 provided for the tolling of the bell for one half-hour at the least before each lecture.[45]

At the time of the Restoration, Zachary Crofton was Thursday

morning and Sunday evening lecturer at St Antholin's. He had been "Minister of the gospel" at St Botolph's, Aldgate, since 13 June 1655. Although Crofton owed his appointment as minister at St Botolph's to Oliver Cromwell,[46] he was out of sympathy with the Protectorate,[47] and welcomed the restoration of Charles II to the throne,[48] apparently expecting that concessions to Presbyterians would be made. When these concessions were not forthcoming, he attacked episcopacy. On Sunday evening, 17 March 1661, he "had 2,000 in the streets who could not get in to the Tantling [St Antholin] meeting-house 'to hear him bang the bishops, which theme he doth most exquisitively handle' ".[49] After an examination before Secretary Nicholas on 23 March 1661,[50] he was "clapped up this day into the Tower",[51] where he remained without pen, ink, paper, or any other way or means of vindicating himself until 25 July 1662. During his imprisonment he enjoyed £40 or more a quarter from his St Antholin audience.[52] On the third day after his release he preached at St Catherine Cree, London. He remained within the Church of England but refused to use the Book of Common Prayer and, therefore, could not officiate in the Church. He followed the career of cheesefactor in Cheshire, grocer in London, farmer in Little Barford, Bedfordshire, and schoolmaster in the parish of Aldgate, London. After Charles II's declaration of indulgence in 1672, he was licensed as a Presbyterian minister at his house on Tower Hill. He died in December of the same year.[53]

Elias Pledger succeeded Charles Offspring as rector and one of the early morning lecturers at St Antholin's in 1660. He was one of the signers of an address of the London ministers to Charles II, like Crofton expecting that concessions would be made to Presbyterians. When these concessions were not made, he engaged in a tirade against the new government in 1662, prophesying that the St Antholin lectures were dead by the law, and exhorting the people of St Antholin's to contribute for Crofton, at the time imprisoned in the Tower. After Charles II's declaration of indulgence, 1672, "Elias Pledger of Whitechapel" was licensed as a Presbyterian minister. He died in 1676.[54]

Crofton's harangue to "2,000 in the streets" who could not crowd into St Antholin's Church[55] gives a picture of the Sunday evening audience on the eve of uniformity.

Restoration Anglicans. The reign of Charles II saw profound changes in the St Antholin lectures. The Act of Uniformity[56]

requiring uniformity, subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer, went into effect on 24 August 1662, and resulted in the ejection of five of the six St Antholin lecturers. On 4 September 1662, the vestry chose four new lecturers and on 13 September 1662, a fifth lecturer, and on 17 December 1662, re-elected the group.[57] Francis Raworth, the sixth lecturer, briefly weathered the storm. He was re-elected in December 1662, but was dropped before the year had expired.

The great fire of 1666 destroyed the Church of St Antholin but only temporarily halted the St Antholin lectures. In 1671 the parishes of St Antholin and St John Baptist, Walbrook, were united, and the St Antholin lectures were resumed, probably in the tabernacle of St John Baptist, Walbrook, until a church could be erected for the combined parishes. In 1682 a new Church of St Antholin, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was completed at a cost of £5,685 5s. 10¾d.[58]

At this time and for the succeeding two hundred years the churchwardens of the combined parishes managed the St Antholin lectures. On 26 June 1671, a vestry authorized Peter H[o]ublon, churchwarden, to keep the lecturers' account for the year ensuing.[59] From time to time the vestry appointed groups of feoffees or trustees to lease real property belonging to the lecturers. On 31 October 1673, a vestry named a group of ten feoffees to let houses and tenements belonging to the lecturers.[60]

Through the seventeenth century gifts and bequests for the maintenance of the lectureships continued to pour in. One of the last of these was the bequest of George French, haberdasher. Having bowels of compassion toward the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, and for the comfort and encouragement of such not to faint in the day of their trial, by a will dated 10 May and 10 August 1699, and proved on 29 July 1700, French bequeathed £18 a year for ever, 10s. to go to the minister of the parish church of St Antholin for a sermon before Christmas at nine in the morning, and £17 10s., not to the lecturers, but 2s. 6d. apiece to such of the poor from St Antholin and the neighbouring parishes as were frequent hearers of the morning lectures at St Antholin's. In 1716 the parish seems to have been having trouble in collecting the bequest, however, and it is not listed among the assets of the parish in later years.[61] Diminishing interest in religion in the early eighteenth century[62]

was probably responsible for the cessation of gifts and bequests for the purpose of maintaining the St Antholin lectureships.

In December of each year the vestry of the Church of St Antholin until the fire of 1666, and the vestry of the united parishes of St Antholin and St John Baptist, Walbrook, after the union of the two parishes, went through the form of electing the six early morning St Antholin lecturers.[63]

Before 22 February 1666, the hour at which the St Antholin lectures were given was changed to seven o'clock in the morning. In 1705 and 1707 the lectures were given at six o'clock in the morning from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and at seven o'clock in the morning from Michaelmas to Lady Day, with the exception of Christmas Day and three days in Easter week.[64]

Just before the fire of 1666 the vestry ordered the lecturers to take turns in preaching a Sunday afternoon lecture.[65]

After the fire of 1666 revenue from the real properties which endowed the St Antholin lectureships decreased and the stipends of the lecturers fell to £13 apiece in 1673-4; £10 apiece in 1691; and about £12 apiece in 1708.[66]

Some few of the lecturers chosen during the reign of Charles II had been dissenters during the Interregnum, but after 1662 they conformed staunchly to the Anglican faith, two of the one-time dissenters even attaining bishoprics.[67] For the duration of the seventeenth century the St Antholin lecturers ceased to be the objects of complaints to the authorities and, if they were singled out at all, it was to bestow favours upon them.[68]

Eighteenth Century Evangelicals. The eighteeenth century brought new problems. Zeal for early morning lectures in divinity had disappeared by 1750. Poor attendance in the morning resulted in a vestry of 16 December 1768 authorizing the rector and the churchwardens to obtain the consent of the Bishop of London to a change in the hour of the lecture to seven o'clock in the evening during the summer and to six o'clock in the evening during the winter, and from Saturday to Sunday, except that provision should be made for lectures at seven o'clock in the morning during the first full week in March and at six o'clock in the morning during the first full week in September,[69] probably to meet the conditions set down in wills of the early donors. On 18 December 1770, a vestry resolved that all lectures in the future should be given in the evening at six o'clock,[70] but on 14 April 1773 a vestry resolved that

the lectures during the summer would be given at seven o'clock in the evening.[71] A vestry of 18 December 1800 recommended that the services begin at seven o'clock precisely.[72]

In these later days the bell tolled for only fifteen minutes before each lecture.[73]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the expense of lighting the church for lectures became troublesome. Finally, on 28 April 1808, the feoffees of the lecturers' estates notified the lecturers that because of dissatisfaction expressed at every vestry with the expense of candles for the evening lectures, in the future the cost of candles would be deducted from the produce of the lectures, i.e. from the income derived from the lecturers' estates.[74] A vestry of 12 January 1837 voted to provide the Sunday evening lecturer with wax candles for the pulpit and reading desk at the expense of the parish[75].

In 1823 the audience requested the use of the organ at the Sunday evening lectures, and the feoffees of the lecturers' estates were asked to make an allowance of £3 for the organist and £1 for the blower.[76]

The accumulation of capital and the problem of investing it probably qualified the eighteenth and nineteenth century churchwardens of St Antholin's as investment brokers. They dealt—in small quantities, it is true—in real property, Bank of England stock, loans to finance the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral, East India Company bonds, lottery tickets authorized by the revenue act of 1710, South Sea Company stock and annuities, and government consols.[77]

The stipend of the lecturers in 1743 was £22 10s. 6d. *per annum*,[78] more than it had been in 1708, but less than had been paid by the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations in the seventeenth century.

The religious apathy of the early Hanoverian period[79] was followed by the Evangelical movement. The leader of this movement was John Wesley. Although John and Charles Wesley, graduates of Oxford University, were not regularly elected lecturers at St Antholin's, in the year of their conversion to Evangelicalism they seem to have frequently filled the pulpit of the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday morning lecturers. John Wesley preached at St Antholin's on the morning of Friday, 21 April 1738, a few weeks before his conversion. He again preached at St Antholin's on Thurs-

day 25 May 1738, the morning following his conversion. In the months that followed he preached at St Antholin's on Friday morning, 6 October 1738; on Friday morning, 27 October 1738; on Friday morning, 3 November 1738; on Thursday morning, 9 November 1738; and on Friday morning, 15 December 1738.[80] After the conversion of Charles Wesley on Sunday, 21 May 1738, he preached at St Antholin's on the morning of Friday, 13 October 1738; Friday, 20 October 1738; Saturday 4 November 1738; and Thursday, 21 December 1738. On the last-named date he was told by the clerk that Richard Venn, rector of St Antholin's and also one of the St Antholin lecturers, had forbidden any Methodist to preach at St Antholin's.[81]

A change came in the days of John Cooksey, rector of St Antholin's from 1739 to 1774. From 1753 to 1759 Henry Venn, son of Richard Venn, was one of the St Antholin lecturers. His conversion to Evangelicalism came while he held the St Antholin lectureship. He was a friend of the Wesleys and of George Whitfield. Unlike the Wesleys, he remained within the Church of England. He held a high place among the early Evangelicals.[82]

After the change in attitude toward Evangelicalism, and the change from morning to evening lectures, John Wesley again preached at St Antholin's on the evenings of Sunday, 15 November 1778; Sunday, 25 February 1781; and Sunday, 30 January 1785.[83]

Henry Foster, lecturer from 1768 to 1805, was a graduate of Oxford University. He served as assistant curate to William Romaine, rector of St Anne's, Blackfriars, a prominent Evangelical. Foster himself merits inclusion in the history of the Evangelical movement. He lectured at several London churches, among them St Antholin's, where his lectures were sought out by William Wilberforce at about the time of his conversion to Evangelicalism.[84]

There are a few hints about the audience in these later years. When Charles Wesley preached at St Antholin's on Friday morning, 20 October 1738, there were so few present that he experimented with extempore speaking.[85] When John Wesley preached at St Antholin's on Sunday evening, 15 November 1778, however, "the people were so wedged together", he tells us, "that it was with difficulty I got in".[86]

1830. In the 1830s the prophecy voiced in the days of the Restoration that the St Antholin lectures had run their course seemed about to be realized. John Gordon, rector of St Antholin's,

refused to permit Monday and Thursday evening lecturers chosen for the first time in 1830, and a Sunday evening lecturer chosen for the first time in 1832, to use his pulpit, and complained that no one attended lectures, and yet the church must be open every evening; thus affording a wide door to the dissemination of conflicting doctrines. Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London, advised the consolidation of the lectures into one Sunday evening lecture and one morning or evening lecture, and refused to license electees until Gordon's consent had been obtained.[87] Although the vestry continued to go through the election of six lecturers, in 1834 all payments to the lecturers were suspended.[88] In 1835 William Goode, a recognized leader of the Evangelical movement within the Church of England, succeeded Gordon as rector of St Antholin's, and gave his consent to a new Sunday evening lecturer and also to a Friday evening lecturer who had his favour. These lecturers were licensed by the Bishop of London, and joined two carry-overs on Tuesday and Wednesday, but Monday and Thursday evening lecturers remained unapproved and unlicensed. In a letter dated 13 May 1841, the Bishop again suggested a reduction in the number of lecturers, this time from six to three, one on Sunday evening, one on Wednesday or Thursday evening, and one on Friday morning. A vestry appointed the churchwardens and the feoffees or trustees of the estates and properties belonging to the lectureships a committee to consider the subject.[89] Under Sir Samuel Romilly's Act,[90] this committee petitoned the Lord Chancellor, praying reference to one of the masters of the Court of Chancery, that proper directions might be given for the administration of the trust, and that a scheme might be approved for application of the income. On 9 December 1841, a master of the Court reported, and on 22 December 1841 the Court of Chancery approved the report.[91] Henceforth, the existing and approved and licensed lecturers were to lecture on Sunday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings. The Monday and Thursday evening lecturers, who had been unlicensed since 1830, were dropped. When one of the licensed lecturers died or resigned, the number of lecturers was to be further reduced to three. The Court of Chancery authorized the division of the income from the lecturers' property at first among four, and later among three lecturers.

The vestry of the combined parishes of St Antholin and St John

Baptist, Walbrook, continued to elect four, and later three, lecturers in December of each year. From Michaelmas 1854 to Michaelmas 1855 four lecturers were receiving stipends of £115 16s. 8d. apiece. In 1857 the number of lecturers was reduced to three. In 1860 these three were preaching on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday after the full evening service at 6.45.[92]

In 1860 the audience numbered between forty and fifty on Sundays and between three or four and twenty on weekdays.

A vestry of 13 December 1839, announced that lighting of the church with gas would be considered at the next vestry,[93] but it was not until 18 December 1840, that a vestry voted to light the church with gas, the cost to be met by voluntary subscriptions and the lecturers to pay for a supply of gas and repairs.[94] By a settlement between the church and the lecturers in 1841, the lecturers were to pay £20 a year to light and warm the church during the lectures and as stipends to the clerk and sexton.[95] From subsequent payments by the feoffees of the lecturers' estates, the cost of lighting the church for the lectures was £5 a year, warming the church for the lectures, £5 a year, and the clerk and sexton were paid £5 apiece. These amounts were still being paid in 1860.[96]

The Demolition of the Church of St Antholin. As London became the commercial and financial metropolis of the world the inhabitants of the old city removed their places of residence to the suburbs. The churches which dotted the city lost their congregations and the outlying communities cried aloud for new places of worship. Under these circumstances a few of the old churches were demolished and new edifices appeared in the suburbs. Upon the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, an Order in Council dated 17 July 1873 provided for the union of the parish of St Antholin with St John Baptist, Walbrook, and the parish of St Mary Aldermary with St Thomas the Apostle. On the evening of Thursday, 2 October 1873, Piers Calverley Claughton, Archdeacon of London, Canon of St Paul's, and practical coadjutor of the Bishop of London,[97] conducted a farewell service at St Antholin's. In 1874 the church in Budge Row was demolished, and on 25 March 1875 and 1 June 1876, the site was sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. At first it had been the intention to preserve the tower of the Wren church, but in 1875 a vestry of the four united parishes resolved to remove the tower and, despite the opposition of individuals and architectural societies, upon the

recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, an Order in Council dated 5 August 1875 ordered its demolition. A monument at the corner of Sise, the earlier St Sythe's, Lane and Budge Row, on the site of the tower, was unveiled on 29 December 1880. From the funds available from the sale of land and materials a new Church of St Antholin was erected at Nunhead, Peckham Rye, Southwark. To it two bells and the reredos, designed by Wren and carved by Grinling Gibbons or his pupils, were removed from the church in Budge Row. To make room for a window in the new structure, the reredos was reduced in size, but in 1939 it was restored to the original form.[98]

Not even the demolition of the Church of St Antholin halted the St Antholin lectures. In anticipation of the demolition of the church, on 22 December 1871 the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales appointed five Trustees to supersede the St Antholin churchwardens and feoffees of the lecturers' property as managers of the St Antholin lectures. Vacancies in the board of five Trustees were to be filled by the Charity Commission. The title to real property belonging to the St Antholin lecturers was vested in the Official Trustee of Charity Lands.

The Charity Commissioners approved a Scheme for the management of the St Antholin lectures on 26 November 1875. They authorized the Trustees to determine the number of St Antholin lecturers and, with the approval of the Bishop of London, to appoint such lecturers when the income at their disposal warranted. They authorized the Trustees to invest surplus revenue in government funds to augment the endowment of the lectures. At first the Trustees were to make annual payments totalling £42 for necessary expenses of the clerk and sexton and to heat and light the church where the lectures were given. After a transitional period, these payments were to be limited to £21 *per annum*.

The Charity Commissioners ruled that future appointees to the lectureships were to be Anglican clergymen in priest's orders holding incumbencies with cure of souls of parishes or parochial districts, the churches of which were located within a seven-mile radius of the Mansion House, and which had populations of at least five thousand by the preceding census. Appointees could not have an income from ecclesiastical sources in excess of £300 *per annum*. The Charity Commissioners fixed the stipend of St Antholin lecturers at between £80 and £100 *per annum*, although they

reserved the right to modify these figures. Lecturers were subject to the control of the Trustees. They could not be required to perform other duties than to lecture in an Anglican Church in the City of London. They could be dismissed for neglect of duty.[99]

With the passage of time, improvements in transporation and changing economic conditions necessitated changes in the Principal Scheme of 26 November 1875. These changes were expressed in a new Scheme of the Charity Commissioners dated 5 June 1928; in a letter of the Charity Commissioners dated 8 June 1954; and in a third Scheme of the Charity Commissioners dated 15 October 1954.[100]

By the Scheme of 5 June 1928, the Trustees were given the right, with the consent and sanction of the Bishop of London, to regulate the duties of the St Antholin lecturers provided that no such lecturer, without his own consent, could be required to perform any other duty than to lecture or preach in some church or churches in the City of London in connection with the Church of England. The distance from the Mansion House of the churches of which the St Antholin lecturers were incumbents was increased to twenty miles. The payments for services and to light and warm the church or churches where the lectures were given was increased to £40. And the limitation on income of lecturers from ecclesiastical sources was dropped.

The letter of the Charity Commissioners of 8 June 1954 permitted a stipend for the St Antholin lecturers of £105 *per annum* and increased the contribution of the Trustees for services and to light and warm the church or churches where the lectures were given to £60 *per annum*.

The Scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 15 October 1954 provided that the St Antholin lecturers might be clergymen of the Church of England who had been in priest's orders for at least six years and who held the license or permission to officiate of the bishop of the diocese in which they resided, provided that they resided within twenty miles of the Mansion House. The rules of 15 October 1954 also limited the period of service of appointees to the St Antholin lectureships to one year or less at the discretion of the Trustees, with reappointment possible.

While awaiting the demolition of the Church of St Antholin and the renovation of the neighbouring Church of St Mary Aldermary, Charles Marshall and William Calvert, both of whom had been

elected St Antholin lecturers by the St Antholin vestry, Marshall in 1840, and Calvert in 1858, lectured at St Margaret's, Lothbury, on Monday and Thursday at twelve noon. In 1876 the Trustees invited the applications of two lecturers to hold one full service a week for a stipend of £80 *per annum*, and Marshall and Calvert were continued in office and lectured at St Mary's Aldermary on Monday and Thursday at twelve noon. In 1877 the Trustees appointed a third St Antholin lecturer, and lectures were given on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. In 1883 fourth and fifth lecturers were added. In 1920 five lecturers were preaching at St Mary's Aldermary, at 1.15 p.m. In the summers of 1938 and 1939 five lecturers were still preaching at St Mary's Aldermary at 1.15 p.m. from Monday to Friday to a congregation that numbered from nine to twenty.[101]

Over a four-hundred-year period the St Antholin lectures have reflected many of the movements within the Church of England. A first glimpse of the lecturers finds them engaged in the vestiarian controversy. In the early Stuart period one of the lecturers was a member of the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Company. The Puritan feoffees for the purchase of impropriations used the St Antholin lectures as a seminary to train a Puritan ministry to fill the growing number of offices in the Church of England of which they were acquiring control. After the dissolution of the feoffees one of their protégés, a former St Antholin lecturer, found his way to Puritan New England. Interregnum dissenters were followed by Restoration Anglicans. The eighteenth century brought an upsurge of Evangelicals. In the nineteenth century the value of lectures was questioned, but an endowment that had accumulated since the days of Elizabeth I made the continuance of the lectures inevitable. With the demolition of the Church of St Antholin in 1874, the lectures, still called St Antholin lectures, were moved to the Church of St Mary Aldermary, and became the means of increasing the stipends of a small number of Church of England clergymen serving in overcrowded and poor parishes in and near London.

[1] C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge, 1938); M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939), p. 164; *The Zürich Letters*, H. Robinson, editor (2 vols., Cambridge, 1842, 1845), I, 169; H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity* (2 vols., London, 1911, 1913), especially I, 207-69.

2 M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, p. 168; A. D. Innes, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1905), p. 249; 1 Elizabeth I, c. 1.

3 M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, p. 180; W. Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938), pp. 52-3.

4 *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1563*, J. G. Nichols, editor (London, The Camden Society, 1848), p. 212. The date of the entry is left blank, but it is preceded by an entry dated 20 September and followed by an entry dated 22 September. For congregational singing in London in 1560, see *The Zürich Letters*, H. Robinson, editor, I, 71.

5 G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), p. 302.

6 Andrew Willet, *Synopsis Papismi* (10 vols., London, 1852), IX, 319-20.

7 Guildhall Library, MS. 1046/1, St Antholin's, London, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1574-1708, ff. 10r, 52r.

8 Ibid., f. 6r; Somerset House, P. C. C., 13 Carew, will of William Parker the elder.

9 Guildhall Library, MS. 1046/1, St Antholin's, London, Churchwardens' Accounts 1574-1708, *passim*.

10 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (7 vols., Oxford, 1824), I, Part I, 264.

11 *The Zürich Letters*, H. Robinson, editor, I, Appendix II, 357.

12 *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe, the Antiquary, and Contemporary Notes of Occurrences Written by Him in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, James Gairdner, editor (London, The Camden Society, 1880), p. 135; H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity*, I, 224; M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, pp. 188-97.

13 *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe*, James Gairdner, editor, p. 139.

14 *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1563*, J. G. Nichols, editor, p. 215.

15 *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe*, James Gairdner, editor, pp. 135-6, 139; *The Zürich Letters*, H. Robinson, editor, II, 118-20; John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (3 vols.. Oxford, 1821), I, 434-6; *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*, J. Bruce and T. T. Perowne, editors (Cambidge, 1853), pp. 275, 276, 278; C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 137-8; M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, pp. 198-9, 209; G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*.

16 *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1558-1570*, p. 315.

17 Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, T. F. Dibdin, editor, IV (London, 1819), pp. 325-35; *The Select Works of Robert Crowley*, J. M. Cowper, editor (London, Early English Text Society, 1872), p. x.

18 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I, Part II, 303.

19 Guildhall Library, MS. 1046/1, St Antholin's, London, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1574-1708, f. 6r; Somerset House, P.C.C., 13 Carew, will of William Parker the elder.

20 *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1563*, J. G. Nichols, editor, Preface, pp. ix, x.

21 Guildhall Library, MS. 1046/1, St Antholin's, London, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1574-1708, ff. 126v, 130r, 136r, 139r, 143v, 146r.

22 Ibid., f. 77r. 23 Ibid., f. 120v, 121v, 131v.

24 Ibid., ff. 138r, 141r, 145r, 149r. 25 Ibid., ff. 137v, 140v, 144v, 148v.

[26] Ibid., f. 150v.

[27] Isabel M. Calder, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England, 1625-33* (London, S.P.C.K. for Church Historical Society, 1957).

[28] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, compiled by J. and J. A. Venn; *Lords' Journals*, IV, 172a; *Commons' Journals*, II, 35b, 69a, 564a; VI, 60a, 65b-66a, 100a, 199b, 227a [bis], 261a; *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the Beginning of the Long Parliament to the Opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford*, Wallace Notestein, editor (New Haven, 1923), pp. 64, 259, 542; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1639*, pp. 97-8. 115, 120, 263, 406-7, 469; *1639-1640*, p. 65; *1640*, p. 398; *1640-1641*, p. 379; William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646), pp. 387-8; Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark . . .*, I (London, 1808), 403-4.

[29] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; John Adams Vinton, *The Symmes Memorial* (Boston, 1873).

[30] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Somerset House, P. C. C., 71 Ridley, 110 St. John, wills of Daniel Elliott and William Drewe; *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, I, 63; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631*, pp. 407, 485, 495, 532, 546; *1637-1638*, p. 563; Lewis Turnor, *History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Hertford* (Hertford, 1830), p. 190.

[31] William Lilly, *History of His Life and Times, from the Year 1602 to 1681* (London, 1822), pp. 47, 53.

[32] Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark . . .*, I, 403-4.

[33] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, p. 16.

[34] Ibid., p. 24. [35] Ibid., p. 31.

[36] Jonathan Williams, *A General History of the County of Radnor* (Brecknock, 1905), pp. 204-6.

[37] *Lords' Journals, VI*, 154a, 161b, 162a; *Commons' Journals*, III, 186b, 189b-190a; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, editors (London, 1911), III, Table of Acts, xii; Guildhall Library, MSS. 1055, "Case for the opinion of Mr. Bell."

[38] *Lords' Journals*, X, 23a, 24b-25a, 100b, 102b; *Commons' Journals*, V, 519a.

[39] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, p. 12; MSS. 1055.

[40] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, pp. 58, 59, 61, 62.

[41] Ibid., p. 56. [42] Ibid., pp. 35, 36, 37, 45, 63, 219.

[43] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660-1661*, pp. 539, 540.

[44] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, p. 34.

[45] Ibid., p. 15.

[46] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1657-1658*, pp. 64-5.

[47] Ibid., p. 133. [48] Ibid., *1660-61*, p. 546.

[49] Ibid., pp. 536, 537, 538, 539, 540. [50] Ibid., p. 546.

[51] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, H. B. Wheatley, editor (9 vols., London, 1893-9), I, 338-9.

[52] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-1662*, p. 398. Probably £40 a year. £40 a quarter would have been an excessive stipend.

[53] *Dictionary of National Biography*; G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934); H. T. Crofton, compiler, *Crofton Memoirs* (York, 1911); J. A.

Dodd, "Troubles in a City Parish", *English Historical Review*, X, 41-54; White Kennett, *An Historical Register and Chronicle of English Affairs* (London, 1744), pp. 375, 397, 402, 501, 516, 736, 932, 934; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix VII* (London, 1888), p. 4; "The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663", The Chetham Society, XVIII (1849), 106, 115, 154; "The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.", The Chetham Society, XXVI (1852), 160; "The Obituary of Richard Smyth, Sir Henry Ellis, editor", The Camden Society, XLIV (1849), 97; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1672*, p. 399.

54 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1661-1662*, p. 398; *1671-1672*, p. 306, 308, 517, 606; White Kennett, *An Historical Register and Chronicle of English Affairs*, pp. 312 765.

55 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660-1661*, p. 539, 540.

56 14 Charles II, c. 4.

57 Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, pp. 72, 73.

58 22 Charles II, c. 11; E. W. Brayley, *Londiniana* (4 vols., London, 1829), II, 67.

59 Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, p. 103.

60 Ibid., p. 119.

61 Somerset House, P. C. C., 98 Noel, will of George French; Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/2, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1700-1735, p. 99; Royal City Parochial Charities Commission, *Report* (4 vols., Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, London, 1880), III, 55-59.

62 J. H. Overton and F. Relton, *The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800)* (London, 1906), p. 117; J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1900), p. 1.

63 Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, pp. 92, 93, 95, 98, 100, 104.

64 Somerset House, P. C. C., 24 Mico, will of Valentine Wanley; Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/2, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1700-1735, 33, 44.

65 Ibid., MS. 1045/1, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648-1700, p. 92.

66 Ibid., rear of volume; MS. 483, St Antholin, Watling Street, Book of receipts for money paid to the various clergymen who preached the morning lectures at St Antholin's Church, Watling Street, from 1675 to 1754; Edward Hatton, *A New View of London* (2 vols., London, 1708), I, 134.

67 Timothy Hall was nominated Bishop of Oxford by James II in 1688. Richard Kidder was Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1691 to 1703.

68 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1664-1665*, p. 86; *1671*, pp. 161, 168; *1671-1672*, p. 97; *1679-1680*, pp. 213, 472; *1689-1690*, pp. 271, 281; *1700-1702*, p. 358. Ambrose Atfield or Hatfield, Benjamin Parry, John Goodwin, George Thorpe, Richard Kidder, John Williams, and Lilly Butler were all St Antholin lecturers.

69 Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/3, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1735-1817, p. 206.

70 Ibid., p. 215. 71 Ibid., p. 227. 72 Ibid., p. 351.

73 Ibid., pp. 207, 351. 74 Ibid., p. 400.

75 Ibid., MS. 1045/4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1818-1849, 12 January 1837.

[76] Ibid., MSS. 1055.

[77] Ibid., MSS. 1045/1-4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry, 1648-1849, *passim*.

[78] Ibid., MS. 483, St Antholin, Watling Street, Book of receipts for money paid to the various clergymen who preached the morning lectures at St Antholin's Church, Watling Street, from 1675 to 1754.

[79] J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 1.

[80] *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, N. Curnock, editor (8 vols., London, 1909-1916), I, 454, 464; II, 82, 96, 98, 101, 115.

[81] *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, John Telford, editor (London, 1910), pp. 146-9, 207, 207-8, 210, 216.

[82] *Dictionary of National Biography*; The Clapham Antiquarian Society, *Clapham and the Clapham Sect* (Clapham, 1927).

[83] *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, N. Curnock, editor, VI, 217, 305; VII, 49.

[84] *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, R. I. and S. Wilberforce, editors (2 vols., London, 1840), I, 90, 93.

[85] *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, John Telford, editor, pp. 207-8.

[86] *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, N. Curnock, editor, VI, 217.

[87] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1818-1849, 2 April 1830; 8 April 1830; 9 July 1830; 26 April 1832; 3 August 1832; 31 August 1832; 20 February 1833; 27 February 1833; 2 March 1833; 27 March 1833; 3 December 1834; 31 January 1835; *The Times* (London), 8 October 1833, p. 5b.

[88] Guildhall Library, MS.111045/4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1818-1849, 3 December 1834.

[89] Ibid., 28 May 1841.

[90] 52 George III, c. 101.

[91] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1818-1849, 24 December 1841.

[92] Royal City Parochial Charities Commission, *Report*, III, 55-9.

[93] Guildhall Library, MS. 1045/4, St Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1818-1849, 13 December 1839.

[94] Ibid., 18 December 1840.

[95] Ibid., 24 December 1841.

[96] Royal City Parochial Charities Commission, *Report*, III, 57, 58.

[97] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[98] Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, *Twenty-Sixth Report* (London, 1874), pp. 240-53; *Twenty-Eighth Report* (London, 1876), pp. 229-33; *The Times* (London), 4 October 1873, p. 10e; 20 March 1874, p. 11f; 8 September 1874, p. 5e; 20 March 1875; p. 11d; 8 November 1875, p. 7f; 9 November 1875, p. 4f; 10 November 1875, p. 9e; 22 November 1875, p. 10e; 6 December 1875, p. 9f; 20 March 1876, p. 6d; 30 December 1880, p. 7f, 5 December 1938, p. 18b; 4 October 1939, p. 11e; 9 October 1939, p. 12; Guildhall Library, Property Sales, Q-S, no. 81.

[99] Royal City Parochial Charities Commission, *Report*, III, 55-59; *The Times* (London), 2 September 1875, p. 9f.

[100] Letter of The Secretary, Charity Commission, London, to the author, 15 March 1957.

[101] *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, Vols. 1865 to 1952; *The Times* (London), 15 January 1920, p. 9f.

PRAYER BOOK REVISION

S. M. GIBBARD, S.S.J.E.

The Standing Liturgical Commission

On 19 October 1954 in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury the Reverend H. Riley, formerly the secretary of the Church Union, proposed, and Dr Selwyn, the Dean of Winchester seconded, "That his Grace the President be invited to appoint, if possible in conjunction with his Grace the President of the Convocation of York, a standing liturgical commission". This motion was carried, *nemine contradicente;* and it was accepted unanimously by the Upper House.

The commission was set up under the chairmanship of the Right Reverend D. C. Dunlop, the Dean of Lincoln. It is representative; including Canon E. C. Ratcliff, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, the Warden of Keble, the Master of St Peter's Hall, the Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, the Principal of St Stephen's House, and the Principal of Ridley Hall. This unanimous report[1] is the first publication of the commission.

Prayer Book Revision, 1906-28

The report opens by enumerating the liturgical aims of the Anglican reformers and inquires how far these aims have been realized. It traces the painfully slow course of Prayer Book revision from the Royal Commission of 1906, which declared even then that "the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation" until the House of Commons' rejection of the proposed Revised Prayer Book in 1927-28. Parliament might have passed the book, if it had been convinced that the book really represented the mind of the Church. But that seemed uncertain, because, although the book had substantial majorities in the Convocations and the Church Assembly, yet the extreme wing of the Evangelicals and of the Anglo-Catholics maintained a vigorous attack on it. Furthermore Archbishop Davidson had throughout seemed to lack that conviction, which "prevented him from giving a decided lead to the church itself and from pressing for a swifter and much less ambitious revision".[2] In spite of the adverse vote in the House of Commons, the bishops (with the support of the Lower Houses of Convocation) laid down

that "during the present emergency and until further order be taken" they could not "regard as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England the use of such additions or deviations as fall within the limits" of the 1928 Prayer Book. Subsequently considerable parts of the book have been used in the majority of churches; and the experience of nearly thirty years has done something to winnow the chaff in it from the wheat.

The Changed Outlook To-day

Since 1928 there has come an unlooked-for change in both the socio-political and the religious climate. On the one hand the world can never be the same after the slump of 1931, the rise of the totalitarian powers, the second World War and the coming of the Welfare State in Britain; nor on the other hand can the Church be the same after the biblical and liturgical revivals, heralded in this country respectively by Hoskyn's and Davey's *Riddle of the New Testament* in 1931 and by Father Hebert's *Liturgy and Society* in 1935. Some of the changes introduced by the 1928 Prayer Book can now be more clearly seen as the products of the undue religious liberalism of that time and to be of uncertain value when tested by genuine biblical criteria. This does not mean that modern biblical theologians desire a return *tout court* to the 1662 book, with its traces of extreme Augustinianism in the baptismal office or its undue stress on the Cross at the expense of the resurrection and of eschatology in the communion office.

But undoubtedly these last thirty years have brought to light *three factors* which are transforming the whole atmosphere in which Prayer Book revision may now take place.

The first is *our renewed grasp of the Church as the Body of Christ*. This fresh insight is not confined to the Church of England, but indeed is extending right across Christendom, as is seen from *Le corps mystique du Christ* (1933) by Emile Mersch, S.J., to *Jesus and his Church* (1938), by Dr Flew of Wesley House, Cambridge. This has arisen because the biblical revival has led scholars to take more seriously what both testaments say about the Church, the people of God. But many other factors have been at work, In some countries totalitarian pressure from the "right" or the "left" has compelled the Church to see anew its divine calling and its essentially corporate nature as the new Israel of God. In Asia, in Africa, and in the West the growing desire for Christian unity has

also focused attention vividly on the biblical doctrine of the Church and its full expression in corporate worship. This has been further reinforced by a growing understanding of the significance of the layman within the worship, life, and apostolate of the *laos*, the people of God.

The second new factor is *the liturgical movement*. Evidences of it among the highest authorities of the Roman communion are seen in the new Holy Week rites and in the clear hints for future reforms of the Roman Missal and Breviary given in the 1955 decree on the simplifications of the rubrics. Smaller liturgical movements are having their influence in the Eglise Reformée and in the Church of Scotland. There was practically no such movement in the Church of England during the preparation of the 1928 Revised Prayer Book, but that was no longer so after the publication of a book already mentioned, *Liturgy and Society* by Fr Hebert, S.S.M., and of the essays on the Parish Communion which he edited in 1937. This movement perhaps has opened up new possibilities in the revision even of the Prayer Book office of Holy Communion. "We know now, in a way that was not realized in 1928, that the Eucharist has developed directly out of Jewish forms of thanksgiving, that the first Christians thought of consecration as effected by thanksgiving, and that controversies between eastern and western views of consecration (which played a great part in the debates on the Revised Prayer Book) belong to a later, not to the earliest, period [of the Church's liturgies]".[3] Also there has been much fresh and eirenical writing on the Eucharistic sacrifice. Canon Eugene Masure's *Le Sacrifice du Chef* (1932), and *Le Sacrifice du Corps mystique* (1950), have done much to free Catholic doctrine from justifiable Protestant criticism. The 1951 Faith and Order report *Ways of Worship* could say that the Eucharistic theology of the Abbey of Maria Laach and of Dom Odo Casel in particular "contains great possibilities of future development and perhaps opens up the most promising approach to some understanding between the Roman Catholic and non-Roman Churches"; and the report could add, "The papal encyclical *Mediator Dei* has at any rate not closed the door from the Roman side".[4] Within the Church of England similar discussion of this aspect of the Eucharist is leading towards mutual understanding; witnesses to it are the recent correspondence in the columns of *Theology* (1953), certain essays in E. L. Mascall's *Corpus Christi* (1953) and Professor C. F. D.

Moule's *The Sacrifice of Christ* (1956). A further move in this direction is the widespread revival of the Pauline-Augustinian teaching about the intimate connection between the Body of Christ which is the Eucharistic gift and the Body of Christ which is the Church. Nor is the eschatological character of the Eucharist so vividly set out in Dom Gregory Dix *The Shape of the Liturgy* without significance as a bridge between what were antipathetic approaches to the sacrament.

The third factor is *the emergence of a new outlook within the Church of England* itself, due largely to these changes in society and in theological thought since 1928. Then the Church of England could still regard itself as a comprehensive body which embraced all Englishmen, unless they had definitely "contracted out" into some other Christian communion. But now, with the increasing secularization of national life, "belonging to the Church" has begun to mean some much more definite conviction of belonging to Christ and his body. Again owing partly to social and partly to theological changes, many Anglicans, who used to worship at eleven o'clock matins or a sung Eucharist with few communicants at the same hour, now go to a service of general communion at about half-past nine. These parish communions, as they are called, are celebrated with more or less ceremonial according to the tradition of the particular congregation. But these congregations are becoming more aware of the things that unite them than those which still divide them. A generation ago the different schools of thought were largely organized into "party groups": and when Prayer Book revision was in the air, some brought out their own proposed book, "the Green Book, the Grey Book, the Orange Book, and the Evangelical 'No Change' group"![5] To-day there is much cross-fertilization between the various groups, and the old party boundaries are far less distinct. This change is significantly very marked in the theological colleges of different traditions; and of course this report itself is another clear sign of the times.

Guiding Principles for Future Prayer Book Revision

The liturgical commission, after thus surveying the main trends of the past fifty years, suggest principles to guide future Prayer Book revision. It should be watchful to conserve those treasures of Anglican devotion, which are prized even by many outside the Anglican Communion: and it should be mindful that what may

seem logical reforms to a theologian or a liturgist may, if introduced without sufficient preparation, cause utter bewilderment to the vast majority of lay worshippers. Yet the Church must be competent to settle constitutionally new forms of worship, providing "they are not repugnant to Holy Scripture". It is possible that our four hundred years of biblical study since the Reformation may help us to see the bold general lines of biblical theology more clearly than our first reformers did when they were struggling (and, as it now appears to us, not quite successfully) to disentangle themselves from the less satisfactory elements of their medieval heritage. Any such revision must obviously be related to our contemporary situation. Some Prayer Book phrases sound anachronistic to many worshippers, as, for example, the reference in the Litany to "the lords of the council and all the nobility". Yet all revisers do well to remember Dean Inge's warning that he who marries the spirit of to-day will be a widower to-morrow. The prospect of a revision as the joint enterprise of the main schools of thought in the Church of England is far more hopeful than it could have been thirty years ago. It would be well if authorized revisions of different parts of the Prayer Book could be used for a limited number of years and so tested practically. Such gradual, co-operative, piecemeal revision seems the most reasonable way forward. Its aim would be to provide after many years of deliberation and experiment a revised Prayer Book as a worthier expression of the worship of Almighty God and a more adequate means to the spiritual nourishment of the worshippers.

Prayer Book Revision and the Anglican Communion

This revision would concern primarily the Provinces of Canterbury and York, but it might also deeply affect the cohesion of the whole Anglican Communion. Our Communion has been held together not so much by centralized government as in the Roman Church; not so much by adherence to a "confession" of the Reformation period, for the Thirty-nine articles have never held quite that dominant place in our Church; but much more by our forms of worship in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Ordinal. "We make of our common worship the principal means by which the Church lives true to and expresses its doctrine, rather than the giving of intellectual assent to doctrinal formulae. Through the use of the same, or very similar, forms of worship we absorb a

common orthodoxy and breathe a common ethos. *Lex orandi* is always and everywhere *lex credendi*, but very markedly so with us."[6] Therefore whenever Prayer Book revision is taken in hand in any part of the Anglican Communion, the proposals need to be scrutinized not only by liturgists but also by competent biblical scholars and theologians.

[1] *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England*, S.P.C.K., 1957, 4s. 6d.
[2] G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson*, p. 1356.
[3] *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England*, p. 21.
[4] *Ways of Worship*: The Report of the Theological Commission on Faith and Order, 1951, p. 33.
[5] R. C. Jasper, *W. H. Frere: His Correspondence on Liturgical Revision and Construction*, p. 97.
[6] D. C. Dunlop, paper in *Anglican Congress Report* at Minneapolis, p. 99.

ADDENDUM

As this paper was prepared some months before the Lambeth Conference, it may now be of interest to notice how the report of the Lambeth sub-committee on the Book of Common Prayer accepted and underlined many of the assessments on the liturgical movement made in this earlier report of the standing liturgical commission of the Church of England (cf. pp. 74-6, above).

Quotations from the Lambeth Sub-Committee Report

(*a*) *On the Eucharistic Sacrifice*

The Committee believe that as the result of new knowledge gained from biblical and liturgical studies the time has come to claim that controversies about the Eucharistic Sacrifice can be laid aside, the tensions surrounding this doctrine transcended, and the way prepared for the making of a liturgy in God's good time which will in its essential structure win its way throughout the whole Anglican Communion. It records with thanksgiving both the labours of biblical and liturgical scholars, and also the unity of spirit in which we have been enabled to learn from them. (*The Lambeth Conference, 1958*, Part 2, p. 83.)

(*b*) *On Consecration*

We desire to draw attention to a conception of consecration which is scriptural and primitive and goes behind subsequent controversies with respect to the moment and formula of consecration. This is associated with the Jewish origin and meaning of eucharistia and may be called consecration through thanksgiving. "To bless anything and to pronounce a thanksgiving over it are not two actions but one" (L. Bouyer, Oratorian, *Life and Liturgy*, p. 120). (Ibid., p. 85.)

(*c*) *Thanksgiving in the Eucharist not to be Confined to the Death on Calvary*

The events for which thanksgiving is made in the Consecration Prayer are not to be confined to Calvary but include thanksgiving for all the principal "mighty works of God", especially the resurrection and the ascension of our Lord, and his return in glory. (Ibid., p. 81.)

PARAPSYCHOLOGY IN APOLOGETICS

MICHAEL C. PERRY

CHRISTIAN apologists are familiar with the supposed rift between the scientific and religious views of the world. If a scientist gives inquirers reasons for believing that there is no such rift, they may take some notice; but they suspect the theologian of having made up his mind in advance, and will not listen to him.

If there is truth in both the religious and scientific approaches to reality, it is impossible for them to contradict each other. This is why no Christian need fear to explore the fields of research which are at present being opened up. But there is not always much common ground between science and religion. For example, the Christian is persuaded that his creed tells him the ultimate truth about himself and his destiny. Of this the scientist is prepared to say little. There are topics, however, where there is a greater degree of overlap between the two approaches. These are particularly numerous in the domain of parapsychology (or psychical research), which deserves a closer study by churchmen than it has yet generally received.

The subject is a delicate one; it has always been the happy hunting-ground for the crank and the heretic, and there have been less "assured results" achieved since the subject has been rigorously studied than many of its less critical protagonists would admit. Unlike spiritualism, with which it is still mistakenly connected by many people, it must be approached with sharpened critical faculties and a mind as free as humanly possible from presupposition and ready-made hypotheses—and certainly in a religiously neutral frame of mind. Many early researchers were obsessed with a desire to prove the individual's survival of death, not realizing that they were trying to run before they could crawl or even be sure of the ground on which they were assaying to crawl. We are still as far as they were from solving that particular problem, or even of intelligently formulating it in scientific terms, but we do seem to have established the reality of a number of less spectacular but intensely interesting phenomena.

It will be useful to take a few examples of the speculations in which this new knowledge is likely to engage Christians, and ways in which Christian assertions can be seen to be more in accord with

the scientists' picture of the world than had hitherto been thought possible.

CREATION

To imagine creation *ex nihilo* is a mind-stretching exercise, though if the cosmological theories of Hoyle and Bondi on continuous creation prove satisfactory, the scientific mind will have to accustom itself to the effort. God's creative power and man's derivative creativity are not the same. His Word brought being out of nonentity, whereas all we can do is to mould things which already exist. The nearest man can come to genuine creation is in the realm of thought and artistic composition. "Where was Beethoven's Fifth Symphony before he composed it? . . . Such activity is not creation out of nothing; but it comes near enough to it to help us in making for ourselves some kind of picture of what creation out of nothing might be."[1] Yet man's thoughts, unlike God's, cannot of themselves clothe themselves with material reality. The Christian apologist's idea of creation is therefore suspected. We know of nothing like it; it is unbelievable.

Maybe a parapsychological analogy will help. I do not have in mind the happenings at séances where the medium materializes inanimate objects, or hands, faces, or even whole bodies. The fact that no single "physical medium" has yet survived rigorous investigation, and few seem forthcoming nowadays for such investigation, throws the gravest doubt on the reality of what is alleged to go on in their presence. We do know cases, however, in which a person (the agent) has, by conscious mental effort, made a second person in another place have a hallucination of the agent's presence with him. (The percipient is, of course, not aware of the intentions of the agent, or else suggestion would be sufficient explanation of the phenomenon.) The late G. N. M. Tyrrell knew of sixteen such cases, and gave three of them as cases 3, 38, and 44 in his book *Apparitions*.[2] The reader who wishes for anecdotal verification would do well to turn to this book or to his Pelican, *The Personality of Man*, both of which make fascinating reading.

To initiate hallucinations of this sort, the agent must expend a great deal of mental energy; the apparition requires a "sustaining subsistent thought" for every instant it is kept in existence. Similarly, the Christian insists that God did not create the universe, wind it up like a clock, and leave it to tick away without him. He

is the continual and continuing sustainer of his creation, "upholding all things by the word of his power" (Heb. 1. 3).

The creation of apparitions is different from God's creative power in two ways. Hallucinatory objects are limited to those kinds of things that already exist; and the existential status of an apparition is a controverted point. Some parapsychologists see it only as the percipient's subjective externalization of a state of telepathic *rapport* with the agent, others regard the apparition as a self-existent entity of what may be termed a lower degree or level of reality than a material body. Professor Hornell Hart believes that collectively perceived apparitions, at least, must be regarded as having "some sort of objective reality, perceived jointly" by the percipients.[3] Dr Raynor Johnson speaks of there being a "subsistent object", albeit an evanescent one, causing the percipient to see a hallucination.[4]

But even if a mere apparition can be induced by conscious volition on the part of another person, the human mind has creative powers that are not wholly subjective. We can in a much lesser degree share in the same kind of creativity as our maker. This is, of course, no more than an apologist's analogy; but it suggests that the notion of creation out of nothingness may not be as fanciful as has been supposed.

THE BIBLE

1. *PROPHECY.* The laudable desire to stress that prophecy in the Biblical sense is more than the foretelling of events, has often led to the tacit ignoring of the element of prediction within it. Hence, for example, it became possible to assume that documents must be dated by regarding successful foreknowledge as impossible. Mark 13. 14 is compared with Luke 21. 20, and the phrase "when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies" proves that the Lucan passage was written after the events of A.D. 70, to which it refers. The assumption is a questionable one even when we take into consideration a reasonable degree of political astuteness. It falls to the ground when we examine the evidence for paranormal precognition. There are many cases which have survived rigorous criticism, in which people have dreamed or foretold in great detail events which had not then happened (see Tyrrell, *The Personality of Man*, chapter 8, or the collection of cases in *Foreknowledge* by H. F. Saltmarsh, Bell 1938). The time-lapse between prophecy and fulfilment may be

several years or only a few seconds. The reality of at any rate short-range prediction has been established beyond doubt by the laboratory experiments on card-guessing carried out by Drs S. G. Soal in England and J. B. Rhine in the U.S.A. It is clear that we should think twice before we alter the date of a book solely on the grounds that men cannot foretell the future.

2. *INCIDENTS.* There are several Biblical incidents where not all the bystanders heard or saw the same things. In John 12. 28-9, we are told that in response to Christ's words "Father, glorify thy name", "then came there a voice from heaven saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. The people therefore, that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered; others said, An angel spake to him." When the disciples saw the Risen Christ on the mount of the Ascension, "they worshipped him; but some doubted" (Matt. 28. 17). We are told of one of the visions of Daniel that "I Daniel alone saw the vision; for the men that were with me saw not the vision" (Dan. 10. 7). On the first Whit Sunday, the apostles spoke to the crowds. Some of the bystanders were astonished to hear God's word in their own language, "others mocking said, These men are full of new wine" (Acts 2. 13). The same kind of "speaking with tongues" is the subject of instruction by St Paul in 1 Cor. 14. He assumes it will be gibberish to the vast majority of hearers, but (vv. 27f) there may be a person present who is able to interpret what he hears and teach the assembled congregation.

Common-sense rebels. Had we made a tape-recording at Pentecost, would we not be right to insist that everyone present heard the same sounds and the supernatural interpretation was subjective and imaginary? Had we been on the Mount with a camera, we should either have taken a photograph of the Risen Lord or been unable to, and there would have been no room for doubting. If the tape-recording played back gibberish and the camera showed no Risen Christ, should we not have to be on the side of the sceptics and insist that those who claimed to have seen or heard anything else were deceived?

The student of psychical research knows, however, that common-sense criteria of what is subjective and what objective can be faulty. We construct our view of the external world by inference from internal sense-perceptions. These perceptions may be completely private to the observer (like the pink elephants of the alcoholic or the mescal visions in Aldous Huxley's *Doors of Perception*), or the

inferences may be ill-founded (as in the case of an optical illusion). We usually check by comparing them with other people's sense-data. But there are cases where this is an inadequate criterion. For example, suppose Jones dies and his apparition is seen at the moment of his death by Smith but not by Brown who is in the same room as Smith. If we compare the experiences of Smith and Brown we want to say that Smith has had a hallucination which was obviously delusionary because Brown did not see it. On the other hand, we could correlate the vision seen by Smith with the incident of Jones' death. The fact that there is such a connection shows that the vision was veridical. The physical separation of Jones and Smith and the fact that Brown does not see what Smith does, cannot alter this.

So, when we consider these Biblical examples, the question which affects their validity is not "How far were the experiences of the central figures shared with the bystanders?", but "Do they correspond to a reality external to the percipients?" We have not in these cases the same kind of factual coincidence that makes us regard as veridical, apparitions at the moment of death or severe crisis, or apparitions that convey previously unknown information. The sceptic is still free to say that the incidents do not correspond to any external reality, since God never forces belief upon us. Whatever the data of psychical research may do towards making Biblical accounts credible, there will always be the need of faith before we can accept the Christian interpretation of them; but at least no sceptic will be able to throw away the verses under consideration as an invented legend, unless he can bring further reasons.

John 12. 29 and Acts 2. 13, which we have just quoted, do not say that certain persons heard what no other people did. All those present heard the same things; it was just that some of the hearers put a different interpretation on them. I think we can throw light on this aspect of the events also.

Dr Gilbert Murray wrote[5] of the time he was acting as percipient in a series of experiments in telepathy with members of his family. He was guessing incidents, descriptions, or phrases of which they were thinking. He stated that "one question that arose was the degree to which the telepathy made use of real sights, sounds, smells, memories to reach its goal. The general conclusion was curious. It seemed that I, or my sub-conscious, showed some anxiety to explain away the telepathy by seizing upon some such excuse. It said it had guessed Savonarola making the women burn their precious

possessions because it smelt a coal which had fallen out of the fire."

This idea of using a physical sensation as a peg on which to hang a telepathic message is not new; divination was carried out in ancient times by haruspicy, that is, the examination of the spread-out entrails of animals (see Ezek. 21. 21), whilst to-day, sensitives use the crystal ball or the patterns of tea-leaves in a cup to focus their thoughts and allow psychical material to come through into their consciousness. There is an interesting passage in St Augustine (*Confessions* VII 6. 5) where, pondering why astrologers could cast different horoscopes for people born at identical times, he writes: "Thou, O Lord, . . . dost so work by secret unconscious impulses upon adept and enquirer alike, that each hears what it is fitting that he should hear, according to the hidden deserts of his soul and the deep workings of Thy righteous judgement." (C. Bigg's trln.) Psychologists will be reminded of the Rorschach test, where a subject is shown a series of ink-blots and asked what he can see in them. He allows his imagination to act on the shapeless visual stimuli and then describes what they remind him of. In this case, of course, the phenomenon is purely psychological and no objective message is received.

May it not be that something very similar is the explanation of the problem we are considering? If material sensations can trigger off telepathic messages, may not the thunder and the ecstatic babblings have acted like this on these occasions? The unperceptive in John 12. 29 heard merely the angry weather; to those who were sensitive enough it was the voice of God. At Pentecost, those of the crowd who were sufficiently spiritually alert made the sounds coming from the apostles the vehicle of a telepathic message. Since they understood this, it was presented to their consciousness as words in their mother tongue.[6] The gift of tongues is such that if "all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?" (1 Cor. 14. 23), although a person present who is sufficiently in sympathy with the one who is uttering in "tongues" is able to receive the sense of his revelation by telepathy. He can then relate it to the other people in prosaic common speech.

As we see that these events fall in line with phenomena which are studied by parapsychologists, we have no difficulty in believing that they happened as related.

"IN CHRIST"

We know that the Christian life is not only a conscious attempt to live up to an ideal, nor merely an *Imitatio Christi*, but that the aim is that "Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" (Eph. 3. 17) and that we may "have the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. 2. 16). "In Christ" is a phrase which occurs again and again in Paul's writings. What does it mean? In many places it describes that state in which the controlling consciousness of the Christian is no longer himself but Jesus Christ, who works through the mind and body of the person who is devoted to his service. This idea of "possession" is not confined to this one instance. The Old Testament prophets who prefaced their announcements with "Thus saith Jahveh" were conscious of the same sense of an indwelling power not their own, whilst the Gospels frequently speak of illness as the work of indwelling evil spirits. In Acts 16. 16ff, Paul is troubled by a girl "possessed with a spirit of divination, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying". He casts out the spirit and the girl's psychic gifts are lost.

Most mediums to-day claim to be controlled in trance by spirit communicators and automatically write or utter words without conscious volition. These, they claim, are the work of the animating consciousness that is in temporary control of their brain. It is in order not to appear to beg the question of the reality of this "spirit control" that many parapsychologists prefer the term "sensitive" to that of "medium".

G. N. M. Tyrrell gathered together a number of examples[7] where musical, poetic, or literary inspiration appears to have come from a personality outside that of the writer, who seems a mere vehicle through which this spirit acts. "Ce n'est pas moi qui pense; ce sont mes idées qui pensent pour moi" (Lamartine).

Is it not likely that the Christian who claims that Christ is "in" him is similarly the vehicle of Divine power and that he is quite right when he insists that "I know nothing by myself", "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me" (1 Cor. 4. 4; Phil. 4. 13)? If telepathy affords any analogy with God's communicating to us, this is precisely the phraseology we would use to describe it. Telepathy is a mind-to-mind relation, and nothing is more myself than my mind. If then Christ is in control of this, he can truly be said to be in *me*. As Professor H. H. Price says[8]: "The phenomena

of telepathy show that one mind is not separated from another by any sharp and clear-cut boundary. Imagine two minds which were in a state of complete and continuous telepathic *rapport*, so that every experience of either directly affected the experiences of the other. Would there any longer be any sense in calling them two minds and not one?"

Here, too, we find that parapsychology indicates that beliefs which Christians have held for centuries are compatible with the conclusions of a modern science. We can gain fresh confidence that as new vistas of knowledge open out, wherever scientific research draws conclusions that are relevant to Christian beliefs, the findings of truth in one section will dovetail with revelations of truth in the other, so that the Christian claims can be strengthened and their validity upheld. Such can be the contribution of psychical research towards allowing men to retain both their scientific integrity and their Christian beliefs.

1 *Christian Faith Today*, Penguin Books, 1955. p. 75.

2 Revised edn., Duckworth, 1953.

3 *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research, vol. 50, 1956, p. 215.

4 *The Imprisoned Splendour*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1953, pp. 204-13.

5 *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research, vol. 49, 1952, p. 162.

6 C. A. Anderson Scott put forward a very similar explanation of the glossolalia as long ago as 1919 (*The Spirit*, ed. B. H. Streeter, pp. 128f). On prophetic messages based on a visual experience, see T. H. Robinson, *Prophecy and the Prophets* (new edn. 1953, Duckworth) p. 42.

7 *The Personality of Man*, Penguin Books, 1947, pp. 30-6.

8 "Psychical Research and Human Personality", *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1949, p. 109.

MACKINNON'S ETHICS

V. A. DEMANT

It is always rewarding to read the work of a man who has expounded philosophers for years and then himself turns philosopher to ask, not so much how good thinkers they were, as what were they really after. This is what Professor Mackinnon has done with modern ethical theories.[1] He discusses them more from a deep concern about a foundation for morals than in order to evaluate their logical qualities. As a result, the book has a certain greatness, in spite of an exasperating inconsequence. The author seems to be aware of the defect, for he tells us several times what this or that section is meant to convey, and even what the book is about. We need indeed these helps, like the guide-books we read after a holiday to tell us where we have been.

Apparently, the central theme is the possibility of metaphysics, but at times we may think it is the contrast between the ethics of motive and the ethics of consequences; at others that it is the many-leveledness of moral discourse which is sometimes intuitive, sometimes rational, and sometimes utilitarian or theological. We start the book guessing that it is going to be about the two tasks of the moral philosopher, either to define the particular kind of language used in a moral statement, or to advocate a moral doctrine. These questions are never woven into one texture. Nor is it clear wherein the possibility of metaphysics becomes of vital importance for ethical theory, or whether ethical theory is the subject of interest because it raises the question of the possibility of metaphysics. One would think that in order to discuss all this it would be advisable to deal with two types of moral philosophy, one which bases its ethics upon metaphysics, the other which is non- or anti- metaphysical, and see which of them is the better at ethics. As it is, Mackinnon has devoted himself to definitely non-metaphysical moral philosophies, those of the Utilitarians, of Kant, and of Butler. With these Mackinnon is a generous commentator; he will squeeze every drop of meaning and value from his chosen philosophers, and he does not criticize until he has made them seem to say the last word. He is therefore an immense corrective for pert students who think they can pigeon-hole a thinker by a catch formula.

[1] D. M. Mackinnon, *A Study in Ethical Theory*. A. and C. Black, 21s.

After a time we see the connections. The Utilitarians wanted to derive all obligation from fact, the "ought" from the "is". But it was an empirical, not a metaphysical, "is"—just the discovery of what is desired by men, for on this theory the desirable is what is desired. But it turns out that this alleged empiricism is in fact tied to Newtonian physics for its notion of the "is" and to liberal humanism for its goals. It was therefore not so empirical as it thought. Mill turned away from its epistemology and found in Wordsworth the kind of appreciation of excellence as something to be enjoyed, not instrumental to any utilitarian good—a view which received precision in the moral theory of G. E. Moore and H. A. Pritchard. Mackinnon points out that while the utilitarian programme to base morals on happiness provided a liberation from religious and metaphysical premisses, it came after a time to be seen as a new servitude to pedestrian bourgeois usefulness, and Keynes found Moore's non-utilitarian doctrine of excellence a liberation from it.

Mackinnon puts down both the Utilitarians and Moore among the *Erfolgersethiker* who derive the ought from its service of the good—for the one a social happiness, for the other a valued excellence. Neither needs a metaphysical "is".

Nor, indeed does Kant, though, by contrast he makes "the ought" self-authenticating. His doctrine is a *Gesinnungsethik*, where the moral quality of an act rests only upon its unconditioned imperative nature, and this would be corrupted if duty were answerable to the good results it makes for. Mackinnon is particularly penetrating when meditating upon what Kant's Categorical Imperative does and does not mean, on Kant's recovery in the moral sphere of a certainty about which he is agnostic in that of metaphysics. He turned Natural Law inwards, says Mackinnon, and he might have added that Kant's assumption that he was giving rational backing to a universal moral law was, in fact, delusive; for what he was doing was to presuppose as universal what he had imbibed as the heir of German Protestant pietism. He saw *through* that, but he did not see *it*. Therefore he took for the rationally apprehended moral experience what was the fruit of a tradition. Interiority is the distinctive Protestant principle, as Hegel said in his lectures on the *History of Philosophy*. That is where Kant placed the foundation of ethics, but he substituted reason for grace in his secularized version of *sola fide* doctrine. Though a man of the Enlightenment he was, at a deeper level, a child of Luther.

Mackinnon does not make this point, which would have modified his taking Kant's own view of what he was doing at its face value, namely, assuming an autonomy of the moral law independent of the moralist's setting. But his reflections are most valuable when he is working over, in his own inimitable way, the well known Kantian passage from the inevitable frustration of the metaphysical urge in man after "an unconditionally valid completion of the fabric of our knowledge", to the necessity of finding an equivalent certainty in the ethical imperative.

Then, when we have witnessed Mackinnon's superb act of homage to Kant, to the point at which he all but persuades us that he is a Kantian, he reveals that his deepest admiration is for Bishop Butler, who fits into none of the main categories of ethical theory. Morality, for Butler as for Kant, does not rest upon a divine command. On one level his ethics are utilitarian, on another they are theological in the sense that they are based on the complexity of the motives of human action; for this complexity must be reverenced as a work of God, and not simplified away by any monological account of the basis of morals. "If there is uniqueness in the ought of morality, its content must still embody reference to men's dependence on food and drink, their need for love and friendship, their jealousies and resentments, their manifold, subtle, elusive relations to the natural world, animate and inanimate, to which they belong." Benevolence is a necessary ingredient in morality, but it is subordinate to conscience. And in many other ways Butler holds together forces which other moralists have separated out in order to make one supreme and fundamental. What appears as obscurity is therefore in Butler a recognition of the many leveledness of moral discourse.

In discussing Moral Freedom, Mackinnon takes as his text Sir Isaiah Berlin's Comte lecture on *Historical Inevitability*. And it does appear that he has put far too much weight on it as a defence of freedom and *Gesinnungsethik* in the Kantian sense. Berlin wrote this spirited attack on all theories which regard historical or intellectual forces as taking over men's acts from them, without any appreciation of the strength of the positions he was combatting. Neither he nor Mackinnon have observed or commented upon the paradox that determinist movements and outlooks (e.g. Calvinism, Napoleon) have actually been the most active in changing the world, an example perhaps of what Mackinnon speaks of as

freedom being intellectually "scandalous". This comes up, however, in Mackinnon's return to Kant's insistence that we are "phenomenally determined but noumenally free", and in his reflections on the whole philosophical tradition which assumes that we have greater certainty about our inner world than about the outer.

In his chapter on "Ethics and Politics" Mackinnon explores the frequent clashes between the ethics of motive and the ethics of those social consequences of action which are the concern of politics. Pacifism presents one of these tensions. Stimulated by Mr Lionel Trilling, he pays tribute to Hegel, who had seen in such clashes evidence of the tragic nature of life in which men often purchase their own freedom or purity of motive at the cost of other men's slavery or destruction. Can we, Mackinnon seems to ask, appreciate Hegel's tragic sense of man's life in society without also accepting his view that the actual is its own justification, that is, that we must take things just as they are? Mackinnon returns to the theme of the tragic in his concluding chapter on "Ethics, Metaphysics, and Religion", where he also relates the polarity of action and contemplation to that of autonomy and heteronomy in ethics. A fine meditation on 2 Corinthians leads to the reflection that in the Christian apostolate the believer is placed morally in a position of receptivity to a life which is imparted from above and of obedience to it in his actual setting here below. This imparted life liberates, even though it is something received, and this cannot be squared with a purely autonomous ethic. The moral law within must not, however, be disowned, and we are back again at having to live and think at different ethical levels all the time.

For those who can stand listening to a prophet talking philosophy in his own very personal way, this magnificent book will be maddeningly profitable.

THE FIRST STEPS IN A CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

J. MACDONALD SMITH

ONE thing which struck the present writer very forcibly during his days as a working scientist, was the fact that the number of other scientists who were also Christians was quite remarkably small. Now it may be argued that if a small fraction of the population, say x per cent, is Christian and another small fraction, say y per cent, is scientific by vocation, then the fraction which is both Christian and scientific will be smaller than either x or y. Logically a fraction $\frac{xy}{100}$ per cent of the population ought to be scientists who are Christians. But this is just not found to be true—the proportion of scientists who are Christians is very much smaller than the proportion of the population taken as a whole, at least in the writer's experience. This is not to deny that there are eminent men of science who are very devout Christians; it is simply to affirm that they are nowhere near as numerous as they ought to be. This state of affairs is particularly noticeable among the more junior and less well educated technical staff, for while the scientist properly so-called is often willing to discuss religion, and discuss it intelligently, the technician frequently displays no interest whatsoever. His horizon is bounded only by such matters as how soon he will be able to buy his wife a washing machine, matters which the better paid research scientist knows he has no need to worry about. We do not wish to suggest that the technician is to be blamed for this state of affairs, for until his interest in rather more important things than washing machines has been aroused he is perfectly right to think only of washing machines, and at present his interest has simply not been aroused.

There is, therefore, a divorce between Physical Science and those who work in this field, on the one hand, and the Christian Faith and those who practise it, on the other. The problem which this divorce presents is not old in quite the same sense as the "science *versus* religion" controversy is old, although the two problems are related, for the former is the child of the latter. Indeed, so far as it is possible to judge, the present problem is no older than twenty years, for the period since the beginning of the last war has seen a more remarkable growth and expansion of scientific activity than

any other comparable period. The present writer worked for a Government establishment which multiplied at least ten times in ten years, and he has seen the growth of the Scientific Civil Service since 1939, a growth which shows no signs of slowing up. The old "science *versus* religion" controversy, which until twenty years ago could be carried on in obscurity by a small group of people who happened to like that sort of thing, is now dead, and its place has been taken by the much more urgent problem of what the Church can constructively say in face of the new situation, where a very large minority of the population has a smattering of science; a situation where a smaller but extremely influential minority of scientific experts can sway the public view on almost any topic by means of the radio and television; and a situation in which the Government, with the best intentions in the world, is unwittingly doing the best it can to exacerbate this state of affairs, by increasing the number of scientists at work.

The answer to the problem plainly involves work at two levels. On the practical level it involves the simple commending of the faith of Christ to the individual scientist or technician. There can be no technique for doing this, though it will be rather harder to do (and this is a fact which must be faced) than in the case of someone who knows no science and whose mental outlook is unclouded by prejudices proper to scientists. On the theoretical level the problem involves the Church in the serious study of the findings of scientific research for their own sake, and not for use as points in controversy. This is the first step, and the second is to apply the results of this study to the integration of the Christian Faith with what science teaches about the universe God made. It will then be possible to present to scientists a unified whole—a universe of discourse—which at present they must work out for themselves if they are to become Christians. From the point of view of adding to the sum total of human knowledge this would be a worthy and worthwhile thing to do. When it is considered that it is necessary in order to save souls, it becomes essential.

In the pages that follow, some attempt will be made to set down the writer's meditations in a very small corner of this field. The first tentative steps in a Christian philosophy of science will be worked out at what is, through lack of space, a very superficial level. Though many have made the points which will be made in what follows, the writer has never seen them put together so as to

warrant the conclusions which he feels himself able to draw from them, and he therefore hopes he may be able to add something, however little, to the discussion. It is therefore proposed to outline two traditional arguments, the argument for the existence of God and the argument that the human mind can know truth, and to derive from these arguments certain properties of the created universe. Finally it will be considered whether the properties of the universe so derived are necessary and sufficient for the successful prosecution of natural science—whether in fact, assuming the universe did not have one or more of the given properties, natural science would be possible at all. It is hoped to indicate that if the universe did not have *all* the properties to be derived, natural science as practised to-day would be impossible, and that, as Dr Mascall says, there is therefore a very close connection *de jure* between Christian cosmology and modern science.

The question immediately arises: Can there possibly be such a thing as a Christian philosophy of science? It will be admitted on all sides that there is a philosophy of science, but it will by no means be admitted by all that a Christian philosophy of science is either possible or desirable. Now, since the function of a philosophy of science is to act as a guide to science, since it exists to determine in the broadest manner what questions are the proper province of science and what are not, and since without at least an implicit philosophy science cannot expect to make progress, the author considers that not only is a Christian philosophy of science possible, but a Buddhist philosophy, or a Logical Positivist philosophy, or as we have plainly seen in recent years a Communist, philosophy of science is possible. For this reason we would insist that a Christian philosophy of science is not only desirable but absolutely necessary and indeed the only true one. Thus, a Christian philosophy of science in its capacity as guide will prevent science from asking questions which it is not competent to ask, and, what is worse, from answering them.

For truth, after all, is one, and comes from God. Sometimes truth comes by revelation, as in the Christian Faith, and sometimes by reason, as in science and philosophy, and, as we shall show, the truth which comes by reason *can* be free from error. As a consequence of this, nothing which is demonstrable by reason can ever contradict the truth which comes to us by revelation, and where there is contradiction, the reasoned "truth" must give way to that

from revelation and another solution to the problem sought more consonant with revelation. Further, faith completes reason, and reason is a preamble to faith, for as we shall show, the existence of God may be demonstrated by the unaided light of reason. Who, then, having accepted the existence of God can hold out against the fulfilment and completion of his reasoning processes which God's revelation of himself provides? The truth we are trying to emphasize is made very explicit in Aquinas' commentary on Boethius' *de Trinitate*. The Angelic Doctor commences by pointing out that the effects of grace on nature are such as to perfect it rather than to remove it. In the same manner faith infused into the individual does not destroy but completes his natural knowledge. Since both natural knowledge and knowledge infused by faith come from God, there can be no contradiction between them, but rather a likeness—an analogy between what is taught to us by faith and what we learn by reason. Hence, continues Aquinas, if there be a contradiction between what is of faith and what is delivered to us by the light of reason it is in theory always possible and in practice usually possible to show by means of philosophy (i.e. reason) that our reasoning processes have taken a wrong turning somewhere in the argument, that is, that false reasoning has led to the acceptance of a position which is either absolutely in error or not necessary. He goes on to point to the threefold way in which philosophy may be used in teaching Sacred Doctrine. The first of these is the use of reason to demonstrate the preambles of faith such as the existence and unity of God. The second way depends on the likeness of reason and revelation which makes it possible for the latter to complete the former, and is the use of analogies between propositions derived from reason and certain propositions of revelation in order to aid the assimilation of the latter. Thus, Augustine uses many illustrations drawn from philosophy to illustrate his teaching on the Trinity. The third way in which reason may be used in teaching the Faith, is in dealing with objections to revelation, which by means of reason may be shown to be either false or unnecessary.

Applying the argument just outlined to the present problem of a Christian philosophy of science, it is not difficult to see that since what we learn of the universe by means of natural science comes from God, the valid and assured results of scientific research can never contradict God's revelation of himself as mediated by the Church. Where there is a seeming contradiction, this will be

resolved by a patient examination of the evidence on the part of scientists, who will discover either that their reasoning has been faulty or that they have been trying to answer a question which science is not competent to answer. Further, the progress of science, which shows us more and more the magnificence and glory of creation, can be in itself a preamble to faith in that it can lead to belief in God as first cause of the wonders which are all the time being discovered. Again, the facts of science may be used in commending the Faith to scientists by the use of certain likenesses between the discoveries which scientists make, and the facts of faith. For instance, the enormous size and age of the universe may be used to illustrate certain aspects of divinity. Thirdly, it is often possible to combat arguments against faith derived from science by using other scientific arguments to prove that the former are false or not properly speaking scientific arguments.

It is thus apparent that we are already involved in a Christian philosophy of science, and we have obtained some indication that the attempt which follows to work out the first steps in a Christian philosophy of science will not be wasted effort.

The most profitable approach to a philosophy of science from the Christian point of view is made *via* the question whether the human mind can know truth, considered in relation to the question of the existence of God, for in this way it will be seen to be possible to derive certain properties of the universe which it will be hoped to show are necessary for the prosecution of scientific reseach. This means that an answer must be sought to two questions in the first instance, because the question, "Can we be sure God is?" involves the prior question, "Can we be sure of anything?" The answers to these two questions will be outlined by means of two arguments, which may be called the Epistemological argument and the Cosmological argument. The former answers the question, "Is truth knowable?" while the latter answers the question, "Does God exist?"

We start with the Epistemological argument: Is it possible to be absolutely sure of any proposition without fear of error? Are there any propositions at all to which the mind may give unqualified assent? If the answer to these questions is "yes", then it is possible for the mind to know truth.

One approach to this question would be to examine a range of propositions in order to find out whether they are knowable and

whether assent is in fact given to them without fear of error, and why this is so. This type of approach will be adopted in what follows, but first it is worth while quoting a remark of Aquinas which refers in the most general way to this problem. He says, "It is self-evident that truth exists. For truth exists if anything at all is true, and if anyone denies that truth exists, he concedes that it is true that it does not exist, since if truth does not exist, then it is true that it does not exist."[1] The implication is plainly that there are propositions to which the mind can give unqualified assent. It is possible to go on and consider what Aquinas calls *principia per se nota* or self-evident principles as examples of propositions which the mind can hold without fear of error. Two types of self-evident principles may be noted, and they may be broadly classified into those which are tautological, as "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts"—propositions which are known as soon as the terms are known—and those in which the predicate does not enter into the definition of the subject, an example of which is the principle of efficient causality. No reasonable person doubts the truth of either proposition, for as soon as the terms "part" and "whole" are known it is immediately apparent that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, while the principle of efficient causality depends on the fact that there is nothing which comes into existence which does not do so by the agency of some extrinsic thing.

We may therefore begin by enunciating our first principle, that the human mind is able to know truth. In fact, of course, the question whether this is so is not the real question at issue, which is, given that the mind can know truth, how is it possible to reconcile with this fact the equally certain fact that mistakes are made? The fundamental issue is not that truth exists and is knowable, but that, with all the care in the world, the mind in its search for truth still makes mistakes. This fact is explained by distinguishing two types of certitude, which Dom Illtyd Trethowan in *Certainty, Philosophical and Theological* calls "pragmatic" and "philosophical". Pragmatic certitude may be checked experimentally, while philosophical certitude may not, involving as it does propositions which are essentially incapable of proof. Thus, while I am philosophically certain that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, I am pragmatically certain that my wife is in the next room, for while there is no experiment that I can possibly perform to prove that the whole of anything is greater than the sum of its

parts, I can always go into the next room and see for myself whether the person I know to be in there really is my wife, despite the fact that I may be in no doubt whatever about this.

Having indicated that the mind is able by its constitution to know truth, it is now possible to proceed to the consideration of the existence of God. All Christians hold the proposition "God exists" without fear of error, and the proposition is therefore a certitude, but some would say that this is not a proposition which is susceptible of rational proof. They would say that we cannot prove God exists, but must take his revelation of his own existence on faith. Now it is true that in this life we cannot know God in his essence and that we cannot even know what he is positively, but only what he is not, but it is also true that there are three types of proof, for there is proof from causes, as when we start with what is temporally prior and deduce the effects, there is proof by congruity—what would be called circumstantial evidence in a court of law—and there is proof from effects, which is used to demonstrate the existence of for instance the electron, which we cannot see, from its effects on various materials, which we can see. Now the proof of the existence of God put forward by Aquinas in the "Five ways" is a proof of the last type, for it points to the effects of God in creation and reasons back from them to his existence. The problem facing Aquinas was in fact that, since the proposition "God exists" is self-evident and since self-evident propositions are strictly incapable of proof, the existence of God is undemonstrable, yet on the other hand the proposition is not self-evident to us, but only in itself and therefore some kind of reasoned argument is necessary for human beings. The answer is to point to God's effects —the universe which he created—and to indicate that they must be seen in relation to their Creator. In effect, Aquinas says, we must never attempt to see the universe in isolation from God or God in isolation from the universe, yet at the same time we must avoid the suggestion that the universe is in some way necessary to God or that God is not necessary for the continued existence of the universe. We must see the two in a relationship which makes no difference to God but which makes the difference between existence and non-existence to the universe. In Dr Farrer's words, "The existence of perfection requires no explanation, the existence of limited being requires explanation".[2]

Now, inseparable from the fact of the existence of God as

Creator and sustainer of the universe, is the fact that the universe is ordered. God, as philosophy teaches, can no more create chaos than he can be the author of falsehood. For this reason, from the Christian point of view it is not in the province of science to demonstrate *that* the universe is ordered, but, from its own point of view, *how* it is ordered. In the last resort the order in the universe is a philosophical certitude, and consequently one of the tenets of a Christian philosophy of science would be that it is no part of the purpose of science to prove that the universe is ordered, but to accept order as a fact and to show what sort of order is there. The property of order is the first of five properties of the universe which we derive as part of the philosophy of science. The other four will now be deduced from the principles already established, i.e. that the mind can know truth, and that the existence of God is a certitude.

Two properties of the universe may be derived from the principle that the mind can know truth; one is derived directly, while the other is derived indirectly. Thus a direct consequence of the argument that the mind can know truth, is that the universe is a real universe, for it is impossible to have real knowledge of a universe which is not itself real—except of course in the trivial case that it is not real. If the universe were merely a figment of our imagination we should know this, and the Epistemological argument would guarantee this as real knowledge. Thus, the reality of the universe is a certitude; in fact it is a self-evident principle, being known as soon as the terms are known.

The second consequence of the Epistemological argument, is that the universe is contingent. Observations on the cosmos indicate that there is nothing in it which contains within itself the seeds of its own generation, which can call itself into existence; there is nothing in the universe, in other words, the existence of which is necessary. Indeed the universe as a whole is contingent: it was not necessary that God should make it at all, and having made it it was not necessary for him to make it look as it does, for he could have made any one of an infinite number of different universes instead of the one we find ourselves in. The principle of the contingency of the universe is similar to the principle of efficient causality, in that both are derived from observations on the cosmos and both are subsequently seen to be of universal validity, guaranteed by the Epistemological argument. We may therefore

say that the principle, "The universe is contingent" is, like the principle of efficient causality, a synthetic *a priori* proposition and therefore a certitude.

The argument for the existence of God in its full form involved the deduction that creation is ordered. From it three properties of the universe may be derived—that the universe is dependent, created, and intelligible. These may be derived as follows: the argument for the existence of God showed that order is present in the universe, and by virtue of the Epistemological argument we may expect to apprehend some small part of this order. The scientist is faced with an array of what looks like completely unconnected observations, yet he is convinced that there must be some connection between them. After long and painstaking work he eventually discovers the connection and as a result the universe is a fraction more intelligible. Yet the scientist is convinced the facts he is examining are connected before he begins to try to uncover the connection. He has a certitude that the universe is intelligible, and the arguments advanced above show that he is justified in having it.

Finally, one consequence of the existence of God and the philosophical analysis of his nature, is that the universe is created by him and is entirely dependent on him at all times. This is really to say the same thing twice over, because since God as unmoved mover is not subject to change and is therefore entirely outside time, his action in creation and his action in preservation are essentially one action. As St Thomas says, "The preservation of things by God does not take place by some new action, but by a prolongation of that action by which he gives existence".[3]

We have therefore derived as the first steps in a Christian philosophy of science five fundamental properties of the universe: its reality, contingence, createdness, its dependence on God for its very existence, and its intelligibility. It now remains to discuss whether, if any of these properties were missing, natural science would be profitable or even possible.

First, it is immediately apparent that in a universe which has the five properties which we have derived, natural science is both possible and profitable. Indeed, it is these, allied to the natural curiosity of mankind, which provide the whole *raison d'être* for scientific research. Therefore these five properties are certainly sufficient for the prosecution of science. It remains to be considered

whether they are also necessary. The contingency of the universe is plainly a necessary property, for it implies that God could have made a completely different universe but chose to make this one. This means it is impossible to deduce the structure of the universe from a set of self-evident principles without experiment. The contingency of the universe guarantees the experimental method and is therefore necessary. Since contingence and createdness necessarily go together it follows that the property of createdness is also necessary as well as sufficient. Plainly the universe must be intelligible before any natural science is possible at all. Science in an unintelligible universe would be a waste of time, so that the property of intelligibility is a necessary as well as a sufficient property. Again, in view of the similarity between God's action in creation and preservation, the property of createdness cannot exist without that of dependence—a Deist universe is strictly impossible —and since we have shown that createdness is a necessary property it follows that the property of dependence is also necessary.

These few remarks may perhaps indicate that certain inherent properties of the universe are necessary for the successful prosecution of natural science. As we have attempted to show, it is only by means of a Christian philosophy of science that it is possible to show that these properties actually exist in the cosmos. It is therefore only in the context of the Christian faith that the scientist is able to justify his activity to himself and others.

[1] *S.T.* Ia, 2, 1. [2] *Finite and Infinite*, p. 15. [3] *S.T.* Ia, 104, 1 ad 4.

THE FIRST LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND *PUNCH*

ALAN M. G. STEPHENSON

THE sympathetic interest which the secular press has taken in the Ninth Lambeth Conference has been very encouraging. The televising of the main services has also brought the importance of the Conference home to the general public, and proved a welcome innovation. It is very illuminating to contrast the treatment which the First Lambeth Conference received from the press, and in particular from the famous magazine *Punch*, which, despite its light-heartedness, contributed much to the formation of public opinion.

The circumstances of the calling of the First Lambeth Conference will be very familiar. The story has recently been retold by Dewi Morgan, in his excellent volume, *The Bishops come to Lambeth*, and in other publications in connection with Lambeth year. In 1867 the Conference was held amid a background of sharp controversy over John William Colenso, the Bishop of Natal, with the High Church bishops led by Bishop Gray of Capetown and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford, pressing for his excommunication as a heretic; while the Erastians, led by Bishop Tait of London, tried to prevent any steps being taken against him which could conceivably be construed as illegal or unconstitutional. On the whole the secular press, anti-High Church and Erastian in outlook, was on the side of Colenso. There was another upsurge of opposition to the synod such as had broken out before at the time of the revival of Convocation.

It was by the term "Synod" not Conference, that the First Lambeth Conference of 1867 was generally known in the press. The usual designation was the Pan-Anglican Synod—a more offensive term in the eyes of Erastians. The second conference seems to have been generally called by the same title. In 1878 Archbishop Magee wrote: "I feel I have learned much from the Pan-anglican . . ."[1] Longley, however, discouraged the use of the term "synod". He certainly did not envisage himself as calling a general Council, which was to have the same status and authority—as far as the Anglican Communion was concerned—as one of the first General Councils of the Undivided Church. This he carefully stated in his invitatory letter to all the bishops of the Anglican Communion.

"Such a meeting", he wrote, "would not be competent to make declarations or lay down definitions on points of doctrine. But united worship and common counsels would greatly tend to maintain practically the unity of the faith: whilst they would bind us in strait bonds of peace and brotherly charity." However, it was as the "Pan-Anglican Synod" that the Conference was known in the contemporary press. *Punch*, with its very anti-High Church outlook, and thoroughly Erastian complexion, ridiculed the Conference from the very beginning, and poured scorn upon its doings till all the bishops were safely home again. It delighted in making puns on the word "Pan". The following are typical examples, culled from the 1867 Volume of *Punch*.

A Clashing of Pans.

It is said that some ten Bishops of the Established Church will be absent from the Pan-Anglican Synod. Perhaps they are occupied with private pans of their own. Peradventure they have other fish to fry.

The Synod.

Sir,

The term Pan-Anglican smacks more of heathen mythology than of the nominative case, neuter gender, of the Greek adjective. It becomes positively Olympian in its signification when we remember that it might easily be alluded to as the meeting of the Graces.

The whole affair seems to have been singularly stupid, and their Reverences, generally being afraid to say too much on really important subjects, appeared more dense than they really were. Surely under these circumstances the Pan-Anglican Synod should have been held in the parish of St. Pan-crass. On Friday the High Church Bishops dined at a Ritualistic "Ordinary". There was a great demand for pancakes. Every one paid for his own fish, and therefore for that day was able to call his sole his own.

I remain, Sir, yours,
A Miserable Synod.

"Non Pan-Angeli, sed Pan-Anglicani".

There was a big Synod of seventy-two[2]
Bishops so bothered they didn't know what to do:
So to do what was wanted they drew to a head,
Shut their doors, said their prayers, and did nothing instead.

Nota Bene

That the Pan-Anglican Sermons of the day were preached by one Bishop after another cannot be used by High Churchmen as an

argument in favour of the existence of Apostolical Succession in the Anglican Church.

A Common Remark—Nobody expected pancakes from the Pan-Anglican Synod—but they seem to have frittered away their time.

IF "IFS" AND "ANS" WERE POTS AND PANS.

Pan-Anglican Synod,
Let's hope thou art not,
A sign the Church Anglican's
Going to Pot!

Punch, which was always thoroughly anti-ritualistic, and anti-Bishop Gray, was also anti-Archbishop Longley, On the whole Longley seems to have received quite a good deal of credit from the secular press; but in the year he called the first Lambeth Conference he suffered much denigration. *Punch* took the lead and was very scathing. It treated him as an autocrat, trying to vie with the Pope. The following is typical:

THE FROG AND THE BULL

Mutato homine de C. . .
Fabula narratur.

To grow an Ox the Frog did blow
Himself in vain to bursting full;
And Canterbury does just so,
Trying to match the Papal Bull.

At the same time that the Lambeth Conference was the subject of discussion, Longley also came under fire for his wish that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should take over the Library at Lambeth. The public quite misunderstood the situation; and *Punch* made the most of the criticism to which the Archbishop was subjected:

> "The Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, says the Times, has been closed. Why? Because the Archbishop of Canterbury contrived to get its maintenance transferred from his hands to those of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Wherefore? Possibly because his Grace felt that he did not know what to do with a Library. This conjecture may be thought to derive some confirmation from the style of certain Forms of Prayer occasionally issued from Lambeth Palace."

Altogether, *Punch* was very damning about the whole Conference and the Archbishop who had dared to call it. Its final

thoughts were given in the following poem, which appeared in the issue of 19 October:

THE SONG OF THE SYNOD.
"Great virtue in an if".
Touchstone.[3]

The Pan-Anglican Synod has met;
The Pan-Anglican Synod has parted:
Lambeth's board has for forty been set:
Hosts of clerical hares have been started.
Colonial mitres and Yankee
Have wagged Primate Longley's beside,
And earned a most unctuous "thankee",
From the Bench with whose call they've complied.

Its stout northern pillars withdrawn,
(York[4] don't like to play second fiddle),
Our Bench, on the broad of its lawn
Might have come down, split up in the middle.
But thanks to rough-hewn Yankee props,
And supports from Colonial quarters,
It has staved off undignified drops—
Said its say, and kept out the reporters.

But though access to short-hand's refused,
Except for the "authorised version",
Some whisperings out-doors have oozed,
Of Collision and counter-assertion.
How Bishops through trouble and tiff,
Having found out what "being at sea" meant,
Have learnt the great virtue of "if",
As a means of securing agreement.

Thus since they'd to settle Natal,
And Natal isn't easy to settle,
Since Colenso St. Davids[5] might call
Very much what the pot called the kettle.
They adopt Convocation's decree,
Against the misleader of Zooloos—
On an "if" it all hinges, d' ye see,
And so saves from owning a screw loose.

So methinks Mr Punch can't do better
Than follow the Synod's example,
And put forth *his* encyclical letter—
The materials for it are ample.

Giving reasons—with "ifs" duly packed—
Why for John Bull and all his relations,
The Synod's the greatest of facts,
And most vital of organisations.

If the Bishops were all of one mind;
If the Bishops' one mind were the right one;
If black Church or white we could find;
If each Church were'nt a black and white one;
If of clerics the Church were composed;
If the laity hadn't a say in't;
If all truth in one volume were closed;
If only the Priest knew his way in't:

If Capetown were certainly right;
If Colenso were proveably wrong;
If Sam Oxon's soft-sawder held tight;
If Denison's[6] logic were strong;
If Rational question were sin;
If Ritual roads were salvation;
If Priestcraft had nothing to win,
If the Pulpit supplied inspiration:

If with Heathen we were not o'er-run;
If missions weren't needed at home;
If the Church and the School were at one;
If the worst of our dangers were Rome;
If Science through Church specs would read;
If Greed would to preaching give ear;
If the poor found the Church fit their need;
If the wealthy the devil would fear:

If curates were decently paid;[7]
If paupers in germ had good schooling;
If polemical hates were allayed;
If sense restrained clerical fooling;
If bishops were more like St. Paul;
If truth to all kens were one colour;
If the beam in our eyes were more small;
If our sense of our brother's mote duller:

If all of these 'ifs' could be gained,
Then to Lambeth we all might betake us,
To its mitres pay rev'rence unfeigned,
And all that they would let them make us.

But while these 'ifs' 'ifs' must remain,
Pan-Anglican Synod, excuse us—
Dead letters your letters remain,
Your resolves only serve to amuse us.

All this ridicule was doubtless a little annoying to Archbishop Longley. He does not seem, however, to have been much discouraged. His sisters Catherine and Martha wrote from Bath to ask him whether there was any justification for the contempt the Conference had received in so much of the popular press. Not only *Punch* but *The Times* also had been abusive. The Archbishop replied from Harewood House, where he was staying with his old friend of Ripon[8] days, Lord Harewood, as follows:

Harewood House.
Oct. 12. 1867.

My dear Cath^ne^,

Pray do not let yourself be vexed by the growling of the Times against the Conference. If the only fruit of it had been that Pastoral, which will be translated into Greek and Latin and circulated throughout the whole of Christendom, it would have been enough, when combined with the brotherly union of 76 Bishops from all quarters of the Globe. Besides, the fruits to the Colonial Church are yet to be seen from the work of the Committees. I send you two or three letters which I wish you would return. They will shew you what is the feeling of the American Bishops as to the success or non-success of the Conference, and Dr. Wordsworth's[9] letter is important; for he knows better than almost anyone, the present state of religious feeling in Italy; and you may be well assured that the Pastoral will have an important influence there. The Bishop of New York, Dr. Potter, is one of the very wisest and best of the American Bishops, rather of the High Church school. The Bishop of Ohio, Dr Macilvaine, is the leader of the opposite party in their Church, but you will see in what perfect accord they both are as to the success of the Conference, and the importance of its probable results. Then, the Bishop of Moray and Ross (Eden)[10] expresses a sentiment which was again and again uttered by others, that there was a manifest Divine influence in the unanimity which prevailed in the Council. So do not allow yourself to be vexed by what the world may say.

Ever yr. very affte Brother,
C. T. Cantuar:[11]

Such then was the atmosphere of criticism and ridicule amid which the first Lambeth Conference met; such were the aspersions

that Archbishop Longley endured. This year, 1958, the present Archbishop of Canterbury has endured and will endure much criticism; but it will not be for having called the Lambeth Conference. Similarly, the Report of this year's Conference has been treated with thoughtful interest and even admiration.

[1] See Dewi Morgan, *The Bishops come to Lambeth*, p. 81.

[2] There were actually 76 bishops who attended the first Lambeth Conference.

[3] Cf. *Life of Archbishop Tait Vol. I*, p. 380: "It was late on the fourth day —the time when we were all expected at St James's Hall for the great S.P.G. meeting was long past; some, as the Archbishop of Dublin, had left—when the Bishop of Capetown suddenly proposed that the Conference should adopt the resolution of Convocation respecting Natal. The greatest confusion ensued. He declared that he would resign his Bishopric unless the proposal was adopted. No one knew what the resolution which he proposed we should adopt was. It was with great difficulty that we could get what we wanted read. I got from him the Chronicle of Convocation, from which he was reading, and found that he had omitted the first clause of a hypothetical sentence —'*If* it be decided that a new Bishop for Natal should be consecrated.' I insisted on these words being inserted."

[4] Archbishop Thomson. He and the other Bishops of the Northern Province refused to attend the first Lambeth Conference.

[5] The learned Bishop Connop Thirwall. See his *Life* by John Connop Thirwall, Chapter XVI.

[6] George Anthony Denison, a prominent High Churchman, Archdeacon of Taunton. He was a pupil of Archbishop Longley, when the latter was Tutor of Christ Church.

[7] *Punch* was always fighting for a better deal for curates. The one cartoon on the Conference which *Punch* published in 1867 was a drawing of a curate's sitting room. The curate with his children around him reads the newspaper report of the Conference. His wife looks over his shoulder. The conversation is as follows:
Anxious wife: "Any help for our difficulties, dear?"
Resigned husband: "O, no, Love. We poor curates are not even mentioned."

[8] Archbishop Longley was Bishop of Ripon from 1836-56. Lord Harewood had given him great support in his schemes of Church extension.

[9] This must refer to some letter in defence of the Conference by Christopher Wordsworth. He was at the time Archdeacon of Westminster; later the distinguished Bishop of Lincoln. He translated the Address of the Bishops (which Longley calls the Pastoral) into Greek and Latin.

[10] Eden had been Archbishop Longley's pupil in the days of his Tutorship at Christ Church, Oxford.

[11] The author of this article is grateful to Archbishop Longley's grandson, Bishop Parker, for his loan of a typescript of this letter.

REVIEWS

VOICES FROM QUMRAN

THE ANCIENT LIBRARY OF QUMRAN. By FRANK MOORE CROSS, Jr. Duckworth. 21s.; THE EXCAVATIONS AT QUMRAN. By J. VAN DER PLOEG. Longmans. 16s. 6d.; THE RIDDLE OF THE SCROLLS. By H. E. DEL MEDICO. Burke Publishing Company. 25s.; THE SCROLLS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT. Ed. by KRISTER STENDAHL. S.C.M. 35s.

QUMRAN may soon become a symbol for doubt, a demonstration of the questionable nature of all evidence and evidential inference. If a Royal Commission were appointed to report on "the nature and the significance of the Qumran finds" no doubt a strong minority report would almost certainly contradict point for point the conclusions of the majority. But such a Commission would probably have the wisdom to refrain from giving any verdict at the present time in view of the unwieldy state of the evidence, some published and known, some unpublished but vaguely known, some unpublished and unknown but yet known to exist. Under such circumstance it must be premature even to hazard a guess what the final verdict on these finds will be. For example, who can say what the general status of this literature will be in the days to come? Will it rank equal with, or be considered inferior to, the Apocrypha or to the pseudepigraphical writings, to Josephus or to Philo? Will a future generation of the expositors of the Bible draw on this vast *corpus* or consider themselves at liberty to ignore it? Will the parallels offered at Qumran be comparable to the Rabbinic material collected in Strack-Billerbeck's *Kommentar*?

If these questions cannot now be answered it is nevertheless an appropriate time to assess the present state of Qumran affairs and problems, if only to do justice to these four books, all published in 1958, whose excellency may be hailed as proof that Qumran science produces not only biting controversy but also first-class literature. For those who wish to be up-to-date, Cross's survey is particularly valuable inasmuch as he gives such material, mainly from Cave IV, as has hitherto been published only in *Revue Biblique* and the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. By so doing he accentuates, however, our feeling of incompleteness—a feeling which must subsist for many years to come.

In this welter of uncertainties there is at least, though hardly consolingly, one rock of sure fact: the history of the finds itself. After more than ten years it really is worth re-reading the story of almost unbelievable coincidences, good, humorous, and down-right disastrous. Van der Ploeg's account of the first days is not only very readable but altogether invaluable for the record, because this Dominican happened to be the second person whom Mar Athanasius Jesus Samuel consulted about the strange offer of unknown ancient manuscripts. One retains the unhappy impression that not only the bedouins but agents and monks indulged in illegal activities which brought financial gain to themselves and untold confusion to the yet uncharted documents. As

van der Ploeg comments: "No doubt, things would have gone differently if the bishop had put his cards on the table from the start. His secretiveness was due to the fact that he wanted to make the greatest possible profit from his purchase, as also, among other things, to the fact that he did not want to put anyone on the track of the finds, in case there were more discoveries" (p. 15). He succeeded only too well. Then the war in Palestine added a new weapon to all who favoured suitable conditions for private booty rather than organized research. Now it might be thought that all this resultant disorder is of no importance in itself. except that it may possibly cast a shadow on one's estimation of the working of Providence or arouse one's sympathy with the workers who have to put the giant jig-saw puzzle together. But this is by no means all: del Medico high-lights the clandestine diggings and the obscurity surrounding the finds (which Cross also admits, though he denies the seriousness of the case), in order to buttress his main thesis that the manuscripts are as much lacking in respectability as their lucky finders. Instead of the romance of the straying goats we have now to deal, in part, with rolls which a ready and rising market may have induced to be "found". Del Medico insists: "In order to talk about a library which had been stored away in a safe place, it is indispensable to know the exact state in which the manuscripts were found" (p. 58), and he goes on to put detailed questions so searching that one could wish for a really satisfactory and independent statement from responsible persons before it is too late. Otherwise the accusation, "We have not been told the whole truth and nothing but the truth", will stand and bedevil for posterity the far more important issues involved.

Del Medico does not underwrite the extremes of possible scepticism, as, for example, Zeitlin's steady denigration of the Scrolls as medieval forgeries. He argues that they were put in the Caves "for burial"; they had been wrapped up after having been scorched or mutilated in some way and thus branded for perdition. They were consigned to perish in these giant *Genizoth* which were not just lumber rooms, as the famous *Genizah* at Cairo, but part of a huge cemetery installation. Del Medico's theory is so ingenious that it should be carefully read by all who know only the "orthodox" view of the pre-Christian caves and their documents. On the famous Copper Scroll he comes to the conclusion that "it must have been an ostentatious, fictitious inventory of 'the Temple treasure' used in Zadokite lodges of the second century A.D. It may be supposed that after having been seized by the rabbinic authorities, it was placed in a *genizah* along with other unorthodox documents which could not be destroyed" (p. 191). Perhaps his most forceful argument stems from the noted absence of the Book of Esther at Qumran, for it is "quite a normal and natural thing not to find a Book of Esther in a *genizah*, but it is illogical to think that a library would have contained all the canonical books, and several copies of them as well as other non-canonical works, but not a single copy of the Book of Esther" (p. 192.) Del Medico ought to note in all fairness that the suspect forgers could, after all, easily have supplied a book of Esther.

It is unlikely that these sweeping generalizations will ever be accepted. Lecturing recently in London, Père de Vaux dismissed many of del Medico's assertions concerning the actual settlement of Qumran. With the help of impressive slides he confirmed its existence and showed such features of the corporate (monastic?) life as a hall, kitchens, pottery, and scriptorium, and farming implements, buildings, and corn-growing fields. Despite the undoubted prominence at the cemetery (of men and beasts) it is almost impossible to accept the opinion that Qumran was during the crucial years, say from 170 B.C. to A.D. 70, with one interruption due to an earthquake, nothing but a grand mortuary, which received occasional visitors from Jerusalem and elsewhere. The excavations at Khirbet Qumran have, therefore, really gained in importance, for where palaeography spoke with an uncertain voice archaeology gives the settlement a pre-Christian date. But does it follow that the scrolls in the jars are also necessarily pre-A.D. 70? It is reasonable to assume that they were stored away as the climax of the military catastrophe approached and Jewish soldiers arrived to fortify this outpost. If this is so—and it is difficult to understand why del Medico is so scathing about Jewish and Roman coins at Qumran, unless they were deliberately "planted" to fabricate the story of a last Jewish defence prior to the Roman occupation—the link between the so-called covenanters and the scrolls is intimate. Thus Cross states categorically the prevalent view that the people of the scrolls are the Essenes (p. 37), whereas van der Ploeg, more cautiously, calls them a group of Essenes, i.e. heirs to the loosely-knit ideals of the *chasidim* of the second century B.C.

The identity of the covenanters is indeed puzzling. Del Medico, however, solves the puzzle in a uniquely startling manner: not content with regarding Khirbet Qumran primarily as a place for funerary guilds, and adjusting most features—as the meal—to customs in the necropolis, he even goes so far as to deny the very existence of the Essenes altogether (pp. 64 ff.); Philo, Pliny, Dio Chrysostom, and Josephus, normally quoted as sources, become in his hands witnesses to the fact that something so totally un-Jewish as monasticism never existed in Palestine. Now even if the excellence of his special pleading will not carry much conviction abroad, it should in fairness be remembered that to speak of monastic sects, as is often done, is just as grotesquely illegitimate, for Josephus is certainly not above suspicion.[1]

What is here at stake is more than the mere identity of the covenanters of Qumran: the very nature of the scrolls needs a constant effort of appraisal. It is so easy to cite passages from the published material—as I have done myself[2]—and to give the impression that one is quoting from an important *corpus*, the equivalent perhaps of Enoch or Jubilees. But anyone who has used these scrolls will, I think, testify that in one respect at least del Medico deserves a hearing as against the orthodox school: the documents cannot possibly be cited to give a coherent picture of a community with a consistent outlook. It is not only on marriage, property, and war that great differences are found

(Cross fails to convince when he explains: "We may suppose that within the environs of the desert . . . was an order of married Essenes alongside a larger celibate community", p. 72), but the attitudes towards the fundamentals of ethics and religion, as reflected in these documents, are mutually incompatible. In other words, even if the *Genizah* thesis appears too radical there is much to be said for a "library thesis" in the sense that those who copied and stored away the books were no more to be identified with their contents than we are with our own local libraries.

There are other differences which separate Qumran and early Christianity, and which are of an all-embracing and not merely technical kind. It seems to me that in our zeal for objective comment—well-justified and rewarding after the first spell of sensationalism—too little is made of the essential discrepancy in *style*. Ultimately it is the style of a piece of writing that counts and not only the formal contents. Let the reader experiment for himeslf: let him read the War Scroll and the Epistle to the Ephesians, or the Habbakuk commentary and Hebrews, or even the Manual of Discipline and James. Such comparisons may be odious, but they are also useful if they make us aware of the flat, unimaginative, hole-in-the-corner kind of writing at Qumran. These scrolls and the New Testament may belong to the same century, use the same words, deal with similar problems, but. . . . Mozart and Clementi also belonged to the same century and wrote music—it is a difference of style. This does not mean that the non-Biblical material from Qumran loses in importance because of its obvious literary mediocrity. Only it must be recognized for what it is, uninspired rules and comments and pastiche.

In the case of the Biblical scrolls value-judgements do not apply, and we are concerned only with the text preserved at Qumran. Here the work has barely begun. Cross whets the reader's appetite: "The real importance of the biblical scrolls lies in the data they yield for the reconstruction of the textual history of the Old Testament" (p. 125). He hints that we may be entering into a post-Kahle era of research. One day the Bible Societies will be faced with the difficult challenge as to how much Qumran variant material should be printed in the *apparatus criticus*, for it remains unthinkable that the Massoretic text itself will suffer change. Without a doubt it is in the textual field—Hebrew and Greek—that the really rewarding work of the future will be done.

The comparisons between Christianity and Qumran have in general but an ephemeral interest. Nevertheless the fascination of the scrolls in New Testament research proves irresistible. Both historical and theological questions are raised and cannot wait until the problems of Qumran have themselves been solved. This impatience is understandable from a human point of view—a scholar's life is short, the public's demand insistent—but it precludes the present gleanings from any claim to permanency. Indeed it must be emphasized that, excellent as the individual studies are in the volume edited by Krister Stendhal, they cannot be regarded as more than occasional papers and some are already

as dated as this article must be in three years' time. However, Professor Kuhn's famous two papers constitute an exception, perhaps because they deal with two issues of constant interest and perpetual debate.

"The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" re-assesses the nature of primitive Christology and of the eschatological expectation. At Qumran, following I QS IX, 10-11, the Community expected the coming of a prophet and of the anointed ones, namely the Messiah of Aaron (priestly) and of Israel (secular). The latter is subordinate to the former. Kuhn opposes Charles's interpretation of the two Messiahs in Test. XII Patr., which favoured here a reflection of competing interests, and attaches this expectation to Essenism proper, though it also perpetuates an old tradition as already found in Ezek, 44-6 and Zech. 4. 14. Now what does the New Testament say to this triple expectation of Prophet, King-Messiah, Priest-Messiah? It ignores it, though Jesus is both prophet, king, and priest, for "it presupposes the messianic expectation of the average Jew, not the special two-Messiah concept of the Essenes" (p. 64). Yet in later Church teaching the three offices in the person of Jesus converge in a remarkable way. Thus far the main argument: is it satisfactory? Undoubtedly it is highly challenging to the average teaching which generally opposes the common Jewish expectation with the Christian fulfilment and makes a great deal of the Jews' false, secular expectation.

Even more controversial and exciting is Kuhn's "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran". He dwells upon the rite of bath or purification before the meal, the setting aside of a special room for the initiated, the priests' blessing before the meal, and the prayer after the meal. He detects the closest affinity between the framework and the formulas at Qumran and the institution as given in the Markan and the Pauline text. Kuhn then summarizes the two opposing points of view: Bultmann's interpretation of Mark 14. 22-4 as an "etiological cult legend" of the Eucharist, which originated in the Hellenistic churches, and Jeremias' view of the same tradition as an historically trustworthy record of the Jewish Passover in which "Jesus, by using the bread and the wine, gives his disciples a sure promise of their sharing in the redemptive effect of his death as a ransom for many" (p. 79). These "diametrically opposite views" (are they really that?) can now be subjected to the evidence from Qumran, with the result that the Hellenistic origin of the cult-formula may be discounted but at the same time the alleged Passover setting, so central to Jeremias' argument, must also be abandoned: the features of the Lord's supper correspond to the structure of the Essene cult meal. But the Lord's non-monastic outlook as well as his intention, as proclaimed in his preaching, removed this newly instituted meal from the esoteric secrecy of Essenism. Though the early Church drew upon the Essene community in matters of cult, organization, and constitution, it changed their essence by the overriding belief in the Lord's return and its eschatological understanding of the meal; nevertheless this Palestinian outlook was later vitally affected by the theological development in the Hellenistic churches.

Consequently the explanatory logion, "This is my body . . . this is my blood", bcomes a cult-formula, and the eschatological exultation in expectation of the eschatological banquet develops into a remembrance of the atoning death of Jesus. Surprisingly it is the Lukan account which retains the former, and the Markan which gives us the latter aspect of two floating traditions. Whatever significance is to be attached to the words of Jesus must be discerned not in the designation of "the elements" but in the interpretation of their distribution and partaking.

The present trend of research is vitally affected by Qumran if, as shown in these two examples, the material is used to buttress the Palestinian origins of Christianity to the detriment of all the theories which subscribed to a radical transformation of primitive Christianity by Hellenistic influences. At the same time it must be recognized that if Qumran and Essenism are taken so seriously as evidence we may have to re-open the whole question of the nature of the Jewish religion at the time of Christ. Qumran fails to provide genuine Palestinian evidence if it had already become a confluence of Eastern thought and practice, disowned by the authorities for its sectarian outlook. After ten years of discoveries we are only just on the brink of asking the right questions.

ULRICH SIMON

1 Cf. also Pierre Grelot, L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le livre d'Hénoch, in *Revue de Qumran*, July 1958. In his conclusions he says e.g.: "on peut aussi présumer légitimement que Josèphe a systématiquement exposé ces idées dans un langage grec. . . . on peut bien suspecter J. d'avoir modifié, sur des points importants, l'allure des croyances qu'il décrit, afin de les adapter au goût de ses lecteurs . . ."

The *Revue de Qumran*, which has now made its first appearance, will probably become the major forum for Qumran news and the interchange of relevant opinions.

2 Cf. *Heaven in the Christian Tradition*, 1958. It is obvious that no one can draw upon Qumran material and qualify its use in each instance.

LAPIDARY HISTORY

THE STONES OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. By F. J. NORTH. Cardiff. 15s.

DR NORTH, who is Keeper of Geology in the National Museum of Wales has written an interesting essay in which he attempts to elicit Cathedral history from a study of the stones themselves. He is only partially successful because, in the nature of things, such a source can only provide a commentary on the architectural history and nothing more; and also because the Cathedral fabric has undergone such disastrous treatment at the hands of successive generations that a study of its stones seems to lead to few definite conclusions. Llandaff was an early Christian settlement in Wales and its small Celtic church was destroyed after Bishop Urban had built a larger church there in 1120. Within fifty years a third church, still larger and roughly co-terminous

with the walls of the present building, had begun to take shape and was completed during the second half of the thirteenth century. The Chapter House, Lady Chapel and a free-standing bell tower were built before the close of that century, and the only further medieval addition was the north-western tower in 1485. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a sharp decline in the fortunes of the Cathedral must have set in, perhaps it was ravaged by Owain Glyndwr in 1400, at any rate in 1575 it was said to be roofless and a ruin. It was not, however, permanently deserted, for in 1750, or thereabouts, a classical church was built within the Gothic shell by John Wood, the great Bath architect. But the fashionable opinion of the nineteenth century regarded this building as an intruder, no better than a pagan temple, and it was destroyed in the great restoration under Dean Conybeare in 1850, when the Cathedral was brought to the state of pseudo-gothic perfection which it had reached before the war. Bomb damage led to yet another rebuilding of part of the fabric, and in spite of all vicissitudes Llandaff Cathedral still stands complete and beautiful, and within it Jacob Epstein's *Majestas* bestrides the nave.

Dr North begins his thesis with an interesting discussion of the site by the river Taff. If you ask "Why here instead of at Cardiff" the answer is that the Cathedral stands on an ancient trackway which, coming from the west across the coastal plain, goes on to cross the Usk at Caerleon. The Romans used it but diverted the road to take in their fort at Cardiff, until the Legions departed and the old track came back to its original course. So the church of the Dark Ages was built at Llandaff instead of at Cardiff, and it was here that Bishop Urban brought the relics of St Dyfrig. By the time that the Normans built Cardiff castle on the site of the Roman fort, the ecclesiastical importance of Llandaff was too well established for any change to be made, and so the Cathedral remains on one of the most ancient Christian sites in Britain. From this we go on to an excursus on the formation of the rocks from which the Cathedral stones were quarried. This is, of course, a geological treatise, and though Dr North avoids technical language and tries to make things easy for the inexpert, an interest in the subject is needed to carry the reader through to the end. In the third section of the book, having determined the nature of the site and of the local rock formations, Dr North turns to the Cathedral stones and tries to interpret the story they have to tell. The task is rather like trying to make sense of an old document which has been repaired and rewritten many times and by many hands. The walls are full of evidences of past buildings, but which piece belongs to which, as Sir Thomas Browne says, "would admit a wide solution". In the result Dr North can only offer the most conjectural answers to the many problems with which the stones confront him. Sutton stone was used by Bishop Urban for the twelfth century church which replaced the first building on this site. A section of the wall on the south side of the Cathedral may be a fragment of the transept of this church. When the expansion of Urban's church took place later in the twelfth century Dundry stone, from near Bristol, was the building stone chiefly used.

The north doorway of this expanded church still stands but is constructed of Sutton stone, and this leads Dr North to think that it may in fact be the west doorway of Urban's original church reset. For the rest of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a third building stone was used—Blue Lias—and this is still to be seen in the Chapter House, Lady Chapel and in the north-west tower (of fifteenth century date), but there is much Sutton and Dundry stone re-used for quoins and plinths. Little is told us of the intriguing classical church built by Wood in the ruins of the nave in the mid-eighteenth century, except the local source from which the plaster was derived and the contemptuous remarks which Skrine and Wyatt made about it; but from the illustration, reproduced from Dean Ollivant's book, it must have been very charming. No doubt a geologist, or someone with a kindred interest, would get more out of this book than the ordinary reader who has a general interest in cathedrals, but as far as the actual history of the building is concerned a hundred and fifteen pages of research have only produced a very small handful of gains.

SEIRIOL EVANS

THE HEART OF RELIGION

THE MEETING OF LOVE AND KNOWLEDGE. By MARTIN C. D'ARCY. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

MYSTERY AND MEANING IN THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By HUGH T. KERR. Ryerson Press. 1 dollar.

FATHER D'ARCY'S book may be regarded as a sequel to his classic treatment of the whole concept of love in *The Mind and Heart of Love*. He tells us that Dr A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote to him after reading the book protesting that he had betrayed the great tradition current in both East and West which has come to be called the perennial philosophy or wisdom. This led to further discussion and ultimately to the writing of this book in which the author tries to give full weight to the wisdom and spiritual idealism of the East and at the same time indicates where, in his judgement, it comes short of the full Christian view of the human and the Divine.

The crux of the matter is the nature of the mystical experience and the way in which it can be described in words. Especially in the Catholic tradition of Christendom mysticism holds an honoured place: the great mystics speak with authority on the life of the soul and its communion with God. But the Eastern religions also lay great store by the mystical experience and a rich volume of literature brings the spiritual wisdom of the East into the range of the knowledge of Christians in the West. How then does the mysticism of the East differ from Christian mysticism?

Father D'Arcy writes with wide knowledge of, and deep sympathy towards, forms of religious experience not specifically Christian. But in

varying ways he constantly returns to two main tests: Does the experience possess a truly *personal* character? and Does it promote a living inter-relationship of *Love*? He pays little attention to problems of history nor does he deal with sacramental theories. But as a wise and balanced exposition of varying types of spiritual wisdom and mystical experience this book can be warmly recommended. It is not altogether easy to read as it tends at times to take the form of a meditation upon the rich deposits of wisdom which the author has found in many fields. But it is the work of a man who writes gracefully and speaks with authority.

Dr Kerr's book is slighter and easier to read. It consists of four lectures given to clergy in Toronto and designed to make them aware of some of the more interesting movements in contemporary theological thinking. The two foci around which the lectures take their form are the words "Mystery" and "Meaning". Christianity must ever remain a mystery and Dr Kerr as a reformed theologian suggests that this side of things has received too little emphasis in Protestant thought. Meaning without mystery becomes rationalism (though on the other side mystery without meaning becomes magic) and it is good that those in the Reformed tradition should take account of the recovery of the element of mystery in the wider culture of our own time.

Reference is made to impressionist art, to existentialist philosophy, to the psychology of symbols and finally to the theology of Dr Paul Tillich. In the limits of four lectures and with the practical needs of ministers in mind Dr Kerr could not deal with these subjects in any exhaustive way. But he was able to suggest a number of interesting ideas and to establish his main contention that it is the minister's duty to be moving constantly between mystery and meaning, bearing witness not only to the things which have been revealed but also to the inexhaustible riches of Christ and to the unfathomable ways of God.

F. W. Dillistone

PERSONAL REVELATION

Revelation in Christ. By William Nicholls. S.C.M. Press. 15s.

Mr Nicholls has written an able and stimulating essay on the subject of Revelation. Roughly the first half is devoted to a straightforward account of the conviction concerning God's revelation in Christ such as would be held by many an informed Christian believer to-day. This part of the book, Mr Nicholls suggests, is more closely related to prayer than to apologetic discussion. It is the product of a devout mind seeking to bear witness to essential Christian truth and is naturally concerned to show how the Bible and the Church mediate the central revelation which was made through the personal career of the historical Jesus.

Having expounded his own understanding of the process of revelation clearly and persuasively Mr Nicholls turns to the more general questions

which arise in seeking to relate revelation to human thought and culture. One chapter deals with man's *knowledge* of God—of what character is this knowledge and how may it be enjoyed. Another asks how the knowledge of God can be expressed through human forms and particularly through verbal propositions. The third approaches the doctrine of creation by way of the faith in God's redemption of the world through Christ which has already been described. These chapters are constructive and penetrating, the second in particular dealing with the relation of the Christian tradition to other cultures in a most helpful way.

Mr Nicholls is himself engaged in pastoral work in the University of Edinburgh and his book has grown out of his concern to clarify the Christian view of revelation for the sake of newcomers to theology, of interested lay-folk and of those clergy who are seeking to commend the faith to those committed to their charge. So far as I can judge the book should fulfil this object admirably, though I am bound to say that it still leaves certain difficult questions in my own mind which I fancy may also arise amongst others of Mr Nicholls' readers.

I believe that he is entirely right to emphasize, as he does again and again, that in speaking of revelation our categories and analogies and illustrations must be essentially *personal*. The personal God has revealed himself through the personal historic Christ to men who can respond in personal commitment and thereby enter into knowledge of a personal kind. But in expanding this central conviction the author does not make it at all so clear to me why the experience of the people of God of the Old Testament is necessary to such a revelation *now*, nor indeed what is precisely the place of the community of the Church in a truly personal apprehension of God's revelation. The latter question becomes all the more difficult by reason of the broad and general way in which the author speaks of the Church. I have every sympathy with his ecumenical outlook and I realize that it might not have been appropriate to attempt to define more precisely his theology of the Church and Sacraments in this particular context. Yet if the Church and its ordinances are essential mediators of the revelation in Christ ("As Christ used the means of his incarnate life to mediate the knowledge of himself, so he now uses the life of his body on earth"), it is surely important for the clarification of the process of revelation to show how the Church, the true Body of Christ, is to be recognized and how the process of mediation takes place.

To relate the personal to the structures of the social, the historical, and the physical orders of being seems to me to be one of the most urgent theological tasks of the moment. I wish that Mr Nicholls could have given more guidance towards its fulfilment for it has a very distinct bearing on the whole subject of revelation. His essay is finely written but it still leaves some of the more difficult aspects of the subject as very open questions.

F. W. DILLISTONE

A BAD PERIOD ?

THE COUNTRY CLERGY. By A. TINDAL HART. Phoenix. 21s.

THIS is a quite shocking revelation of the conditions and manners of the clergy in Elizabethan and Stuart times. One realizes that in a period largely characterized by civil war the inhumanity of man to man is likely to be most conspicuous. But it would be very difficult to excuse either the degeneration into which the parochial clergy had fallen or the cruelty with which they were treated.

Nor is it possible to take sides. If this is a faithful record, Puritans and Laudians were equally to blame. But is it a faithful record? It is true that we get some relief when in the last chapter we come to Herbert, Ferrar, Jeremy Taylor, and even Herrick. And then we begin to reflect that after all much of the information here given has been taken from registers, acts, ordinances, and proceedings of record societies, which is very much like judging the condition of contemporary society from a police charge-book. It is the untoward that finds record, not the quiet, faithful, unassuming work of those who strive humbly to serve their fellows. We may still not be able to take sides, but there was certainly another side to the story.

One thing of value in view of current controversy comes out clearly —the reason why the authorities were not too scrupulous in examining the *bona fides* of would-be incumbents from the continent. It was difficult enough to get the posts filled with any kind of educated person, let alone a properly ordained one. The question of continental ordination could wait.

W.W.

FRENCH MYSTICISM

CREPUSCULE DES MYSTIQUES. By L. COGNET. Desclée & Co., Tournai, Belgium.

THE Twilight of the Mystics of Monsieur Cognet's title was the result of the imprisonment and condemnation of Madame Guyon and the suppression of the method of prayer she advocated with great success for a time. English readers will inevitably compare this work with *The Archbishop and the Lady* by Michael de la Bedoyere (Collins, 1956) as not only the latest account in English of this affair and the clash between Fénelon and Bossuet which grew from it, but as the most easily available expression of the reassessment of the whole affair that has become common in recent years. Hero, villain, and heroine are hardly appropriate words to use of this book, but the assessment of who was at fault and why, and why the clash of personalities arose, is almost exactly the same in the English and the French books. Compared with de la Bedoyere's more general detached method, however, M. Cognet reduces his judgement of persons, speculation as to

motives, and his account of the intrigues that underlay the affair to the minimum consistent with making the story understandable. Englishmen whose history of the Grand Siècle is a little vague may well be glad to have read *The Archbishop and the Lady* before they embark upon this more specialized book. M. Cognet has reduced these elements of secondary importance in order to make his account depend mainly upon the spiritual issues. The book is very well documented with liberal quotations from a great many manuscripts and letters, so that one feels very close to the affair as the drama unfolds. The first chapter is a history of the development of French mysticism up to the seventeenth century, and M. Cognet's contention is that Mme. Guyon was in that tradition, but that she became the focus of a clash between that tradition and the anti-mysticism which reaction to Quietism had evoked. M. Cognet in this volume carries the story to the imprisonment of Mme. Guyon with the stage set for the main clash between the two bishops. A sequel is promised in which he will deal with the continuation of the story and its profound effects upon the religious and political life of France.

B. Minchin

A MODERN MYSTIC

Evelyn Underhill. By Margaret Cropper. Longmans. 25s.

Lucy Menzies, once Warden of the retreat house at Pleshey, began writing a memoir of her great friend and director, but died before she got very far. Margaret Cropper, another friend already known to the public through her religious plays and her lives of saints, took up the task. She felt that she must re-write what had already been done, but compensated by introducing a memoir of Lucy Menzies herself by Bishop Barkway. From the book-making point of view the result is not altogether happy. The ladies are too much alike, and when one begins reading Miss Cropper's own narrative it is some time before one realizes that the first person pronoun refers to herself.

However, let us give a very warm welcome to this faithful account of one to whom many of us owe so tremendous a debt. It seems difficult now to realize that Miss Underhill began as a poet, yet there are lines of hers that we have carried in our memories for nearly half a century. Her big book on Mysticism filled out what we had already absorbed from Inge, although Sisters at the convents used to whisper that they thought it "a little dangerous", a sentiment that they perhaps felt more strongly about "The Mystic Way". Her "Worship" later lifted us into a new dimension of public prayer. What one had not realized was the tremendous amount of work she did, while writing her books, in conducting retreats and directing individual souls.

It is this side of her life that is most fully revealed in the present work, together with interesting side lights on her book-binding, sailing,

botany, and care for the poor. Her home life still remains a little dim: and her husband, although a kindly figure, is off-stage and hovers in the wings.

The real centre of interest is in her continuous struggle upwards to God. An indifferent religious training left her to seek her own way. That is perhaps why she did not find God through Christ, but found God first and then Christ through God. Von Hügel, who directed her later course, had some difficulty in encouraging her to cultivate Christo-centric ways of thought. The somewhat unusual course of her development may explain why her religion was one of the heights, why worship in the sense of adventure meant so much to her, why solitude was so dear to her, and perhaps even why, after so many possibilities of change, she remained so staunchly Anglican.

To read the book is to re-live the experience of one for whom God was indeed the most important reality in all existence.

W.W.

GOODNESS WITHOUT GOD

CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING. By N. V. BANERJEE. Allen & Unwin. 30s.

ALL who have to deal with their fellow men have an interest in understanding human capacities, not least man's capacity to know and to judge. And the question is never far away, whether man can trust what he believes to be his knowledge. Banerjee is convinced that man's perceptual knowledge is of reality: and he has many acute things to say of the various epistemologies that have come down to us. Especially interesting is his treatment of the relation of the world of individual perception, and the common world of us all; which we may also style the objective world. Here we come against the problem of the relation of one mind to another, and of the validity of conceptions such as the Absolute. Banerjee sets out the question how individual minds come to think alike; but as he does not believe in the existence of God he does not help the Christian to understand how finite minds are related to the infinite, divine mind.

Whilst he is emphatic that perceptual knowledge can be trusted, he is sceptical of self-knowledge. He says that the one self cannot at the same time be both subject and object. For religion self-knowledge is a desperately important theme. How else could we have repentance, self-discipline, and progress? Our author will not help us here.

Neither can he find evidence for the existence of a Being higher than man. Yet he speaks of religion. The religion of God, he asserts, has failed: we must have the religion of man. This means, he constantly reiterates, the sense of the essentiality of selves to one another. The Christian will feel that this has been said less cumbrously and with more effect in the commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

But Banerjee's limitations do not mean that he has not many acute things to say about the present plight of humanity, and that his words are not all the more interesting because arising from a definitely oriental background, and not from the materialist, technological outlook that is so intrusive upon the western mind.

This is a valuable book for the philosophically minded, written with admirable lucidity, great sincerity, and conviction. Really to appreciate it the reader must have some acquaintance with the history of Philosophy, and the theories of men like Locke and Kant.

It is not a book to be recommended to the busy pastor, at any rate for purchase, though if he can borrow the book, skim over pp. 1-227, he will be amply repaid for the time spent on the remaining 100 pages. He will, for instance, find real illumination in the derivation of the sense of obligation, the basis of all morality, from the essentiality of man to his fellows; and in the chapter on Religion as the great event in Human Life.

C. J. Barker

DRYBURGH TO WITHAM

Adam of Dryburgh. By James Bulloch. S.P.C.K. Church Historical Society. 30s.

Guidebooks to Scotland usually refer in somewhat glowing terms to the surviving remains of the Abbey of Dryburgh—"charmingly situated on a semicircular piece of land, round which the Tweed sweeps broad and swift". They thus bear out the impression conveyed to those unfamiliar with the district, by the attractive paper-jacket with which S.P.C.K. has seen fit to adorn this volume published for the Church Historical Society.

To this delightful place there came, in the year 1150, the Premonstratensians or White Canons, members of an order founded earlier in the twelfth century by St Norbert of Xanten. To-day, however, Dryburgh stands as an empty shell—a skeleton. It has, metaphorically speaking, been Dr Bulloch's purpose, aided by the writings of one of its first abbots, to refurnish this skeleton with flesh and blood. And he has fulfilled his task with very considerable success. Once again we are able to catch a glimpse of the White Canons at Dryburgh descending the night stair in shoes and night habits to say matins in the dark and chilly church; once more we can picture them gathering morning by morning under their abbot for discipline and the business of the day; once more we see them at least endeavouring to fulfil their obligations, or getting down to the daily occupations of reading, prayer, and labour.

If Dr Bulloch manages to bring Dryburgh thus vividly to life, he is equally successful with the central figure of his book, Adam, its abbot from 1184 to 1188. The formidable mass of untranslated matter in the Migne *Patrologia Latina* Tom. 198, under the title of *Adamus Scotus*, is

here presented in a most digestible form. We are shown a man who "saw the entry into the abbey's life not so much as the abandonment of any larger life in the outer world, but rather as the return to that fuller, more abundant life, for which man had originally been destined by God, the return to a once lost Paradise".

For all that, the austere surroundings of Dryburgh at length ceased to be Paradise for Abbot Adam, who, in his quest after perfection, sought out St Hugh of Lincoln, and at once craved to be allowed to join the most ascetic of all religious orders, the Carthusians. Having entered the Carthusian house at Witham in Somerset, Adam remained there, until four and twenty years later the moment arrived when, as was the custom with that order, his dead body was laid upon a consecrated cross of ashes. In addition to providing information of first-hand interest on the White Canons, Adam wrote a work on the Carthusians which, according to Dr Bulloch, "is among the few important sources for the order's early life".

Dr Bulloch's volume gives a fascinating account of twelfth century religious life. It is pleasing to have so sympathetic a study of monasticism from the pen of a distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland.

GORDON HUELIN

OLD FAVOURITES

A RELIGION FOR MONDAY MORNING. By K. E. MACLEAN. S.P.C.K. 4s.
CHRISTIAN BELIEF. By R. H. MALDEN. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.
MEDITATION AND MENTAL PRAYER. By W. L. KNOX. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

THE PUBLISHERS have done well to include these volumes in their new series of SERAPH BOOKS. Each of these three books has, during the years since it was first published, made its name and proved its worth. They are all intended for beginners in the Christian way of life, or for those who like from time to time to get down in a simple way to fundamentals. It is good that these admirable helps should be available to all such at the reasonable price at which they are now offered.

Archdeacon Maclean's book, *A Religion for Monday Morning*, dates back to 1926, and was reprinted six times before the present edition. It was intended in the first instance to serve as a course of instruction for Confirmation candidates, and it is well suited for this purpose. It is written in a simple and informal style, and covers all the essential points: our Lord and the sacraments, the Church and its faith and worship. It is practical and devotional and goes to the heart of things.

Christian Belief, by the late Dean of Wells, is a simple study of the Apostles' Creed. It was first published in 1941, and well serves the needs of those who wish to think over and study the essentials of the Christian Faith, being particularly helpful for day school teachers, since the Apostles' Creed is not regarded as "distinctive of any particular

denomination", and is therefore accepted as common material in many of the agreed syllabuses.

Meditation and Mental Prayer, by W. L. Knox, needs no commendation. It was first published in 1927 and was dedicated by its author to the undergraduate members of his University. It had served them and many others well and had become a classic before it went out of print. Its reappearance in this new edition is to be heartily welcomed, and is something for which many will be grateful.

A. J. G. Hawes

ECUMENICAL

Documents on Christian Unity. Fourth Series 1948-57. Edited by G. K. A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester 1929-58. O.U.P. 21s.

One of the many services which Bishop Bell rendered to the whole Church was the periodic publication of collections of documents culled from his own extensive archives. The first document included in the first volume was the "Appeal to All Christian People" issued by the 1920 Lambeth Conference, and it is extremely interesting to note that whilst the first volume was concerned with the very tentative preliminary discussions which followed that Appeal, the latest volume includes documents relating to Churches which have already become united, or who are deeply committed to unity discussions, as well as documents showing the rapid growth of the Ecumenical Movement and the established place which the World Council of Churches now has in the life of Christendom.

The present volume includes not only documents relating to the first two assemblies of the World Council, but also the full text of the Instruction on the Ecumenical Movement issued by the Papacy to all Roman Catholic Bishops in 1949. This is the kind of significant document that is not easily available elsewhere.

The documents cover the usual wide range and if more space is given than in earlier volumes to Church Relations in England and Scotland and less to other parts of the world, that is clearly a measure of the increased attention which Christians of all traditions in Britain have given to Christian unity since the Archbishop of Canterbury preached his memorable sermon at Cambridge in 1946.

It would be churlish to complain of omissions because the task of selection must have been formidable. One can only express the hope that whoever succeeds Dr Bell in this particular task will be able to produce a fifth volume of documents covering perhaps a shorter period and including some of the interpretative statements which he and others made from time to time and which played so large a part in furthering the cause of Christian unity.

R. D. Say

THE APOCRYPHA

THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Nelson. 18s.

THE publication of this volume completes the American Revised Standard Version of the Scriptures and to those who know already the Old and New Testaments in that version, it only needs to be stated that the Apocrypha is a worthy addition to them. The great majority of the modern translations of the Scriptures are translations into the contemporary idiom intended for the private reader. The Revised Standard Version on the other hand, is a revision of the Revised Version intended to be used in public worship.

The purpose of the revision is twofold. There is firstly, the desire to utilize the many advances in Biblical scholarship which have been made since the Revised Version was issued, both in respect of manuscripts and increased knowledge of the languages. Secondly there is the intention to alter or remove words or expressions that have become archaic and present difficulties to the modern reader. Accordingly, for the Apocrypha, the Rahlfs Septuagint was used as the basis of the translation for the majority of the books. For the additions to Daniel the Theodotionic text was used and the Old Latin for 2 Esdras. In the translation of Ecclesiasticus reference was made to the Hebrew fragments of the book which were discovered at the end of the last century.

The translation is excellent. It is throughout characterized by dignity, simplicity, and clarity. For example, in the well-known description of wisdom in the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, the "quick of understanding" of the Revised Version is rendered by "intelligent", "alone in kind" by "unique", "freely moving" by "mobile", "unharmed" by "invulnerable", and "unhindered" by "irresistible". Only once did the reviewer feel a pang of regret when he discovered that, "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever", had become "Bless the Lord, all works of the Lord, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever".

The printing and the binding of the book is excellent. It is in every sense a fine piece of work.

J. ROBINSON

A GREAT NON-JUROR

THOMAS KEN. By H. A. L. RICE. S.P.C.K. 25s.

THE TRAGEDY of the Non-jurors was that they mistook a canonical oath for an absolute promise: a pledge of allegiance to the sovereign as an unconditional bond to his person. Hence the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience. The measure of the stubbornness amounting to fanaticism with which the position was held can be judged from the fact that to the Non-jurors this was *the* Doctrine of

the Cross. So it appears in the will of Thomas Ken, "I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan Innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross".

The misunderstanding was the result of the emphasis on Divine Right, which was itself the natural outcome of the struggle with Cromwell and his Commonwealth. Those who first suffered for it were as gallant and devout a section of the Church as we have seen in our history. The brightest and best of them was the hero of this biography. Indeed Ken is one of the characters who seem to make all our history worth while. It is good that we should have this competent and readable account of him. If there is nothing very new in it, it will still prove a cordial to many drooping spirits, teaching us to "measure our lives by loss as well as gain". It is well and interestingly written, but perhaps in a new impression the author will give attention to the curious form "suppositious" on p. 156.

W.W.

A CANDID FRIEND

ONE ARMY STRONG? By PETER KIRK. Faith Press. 15s.

ONE gives a warm welcome to this book not only because of its healthy tone and sane outlook. It is good to find a son defending the church in which his father was so brilliant and so beloved a leader. It is also good to find a layman and member of parliament, with all his knowledge of affairs, giving so candid and objective an appraisal of the Church of which he is himself a practising member.

Perhaps Mr Kirk is able to do that all the more skilfully because it is not the only church he has known. He gives some interesting details of his spiritual odyssey. They must be fairly typical of the enquiring youth of our time. It is all the more heart-warming to realize the pleasure with which the wanderer found himself home again amidst the familiar surroundings.

The book is professedly the book of a typical layman, the book of an amateur. Professional readers will from time to time raise a questioning eyebrow. They will want to know whether we are really the second largest of the Christian churches, whether there are really more Anglicans in U.S.A. than in this country, whether there are no ecclesiastical provinces in U.S.A., whether Wilberforce was really a scientific ignoramus when he entered the lists against Darwin. Mr Kirk does not quite understand the basis on which the minimum stipend of the clergy is calculated, nor has he learnt of the recent change in the composition of the Lambeth Conference. Also his platform experience sometimes leads him into an extravagance of phrase that is out of place in the lecture room. If what he says about us elsewhere in the book is

correct, can it be true that "the Church, through its weakness, seems totally to have lost its sense of mission"? "Totally"?

Actually the author, in spite of his criticisms, gives us plenty of reason for thinking that the Church is still doing a good job. As for our aim, we must be truly national, not content to "cultivate our own garden, . . . but giving a clear call to the nation as a whole". We must not be afraid to speak out when occasion arises, but must be careful not to identify ourselves with any one political party. We must do far more than we do at present to enlist the co-operation of the laity. To that end we should set up a laity commission to co-ordinate their efforts in each diocese and rural-deanery. And especially must we see to it that all our institutions are fully representative of every class of the community.

The criticism is both candid and bracing. If all the remedies proposed are not quite so feasible as they seem to the author, they may at least impel a search for better.

W.W.

THE EASTER FAITH

THE ARMOUR OF SAUL. By F. H. CLEOBURY. James Clarke. 9s. 6d.

HIS "reconsideration of the Easter Faith" leads Mr Cleobury to think that Christians have cumbered themselves with a lot of useless "proofs". He advises us to follow the example of David who boldly discarded the armour of Saul when he found it was likely to hamper him in his contest with Goliath.

In order to show that the ruthless disposal of traditional evidences does not necessarily involve loss of the faith itself, he devotes the first half of his short book to a fresh examination of the argument in favour of immortality. Whether we find his own presentation of the case convincing or not, it is certainly stimulating and is thoroughly worth careful study as another Easter draws near.

The second half of the book we find less valuable. He goes either too far or not far enough. If his real aim is to dispose of the historical argument altogether, he goes too far. If, as he repeatedly asserts, he only wishes to dispose of historical *details* (his italics), he does not go far enough. The historical argument has gone further than he allows. He would have done better to examine the relation between history and faith without raising the question of details. As it is, he nowhere shows how to draw the line between details and basic facts and consequently increases the feeling of disquiet he is trying to allay.

Surely the important thing is to recognize that no historical argument can establish a supernatural fact. Such a fact must be accepted by faith and by faith alone. At the same time if Christian doctrine is to warrant reasonable belief there must be some basic facts of which it offers itself as the most reasonable explanation. To take the crucial example of the

Easter faith: it would be impossible to prove it by historical evidence alone. What can be accepted on historical evidence is the empty tomb. All contemporaries appear to have agreed on that, friends and foes alike. There were, it is true, different explanations of it. Christians made, and still make, their act of faith in believing that the tomb was empty because Jesus had risen from the dead. For that belief they may affirm a variety of reasons, some of which are purely "spiritual". But they will not, if they are wise, forget the historic fact. We need not make too much of history. But we cannot eliminate it altogether and remain Christian.

W.W.

GREEK SAINTS

THE HOLY FIRE. By ROBERT PAYNE. Skeffington. 25s.

THE sub-title is "The Story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church". Actually the volume consists of short biographies of ten Orthodox Fathers from Clement of Alexandria to Gregory Palamas.

The book must be judged as literature rather than as history or theology. It does not spend time over descriptions of historical background nor does it give any critical examination of theological issues. Indeed the reader with no previous knowledge of the period might well find himself asking why the monks attacked John Chrysostom, how Valens came to his death, what is the evidence for Clement of Alexandria's alleged martyrdom, and which of the two dates suggested on consecutive pages for the same incident has the greater probability.

If we are not looking for meticulous scholarship and are prepared to put this volume in the same class, shall we say, as Daniel Rops' "Jesus in His Time" we shall find it far more readable than any text-book. The author has a novelist's eye for a scene and a real love of words. In fact he might have applied to himself his quotation from Gregory Nazianzen, "There is one thing I cling to—my power of words, that alone, and so I do not grudge the vicissitudes of land and sea that gave me this". The author has also the novelist's eye for character, even to the point of making his portraits a little more colourful than life. As a result we get a wonderful composite portrait of the eastern doctors and saints. It fits in well with the reproductions from the mosaics—so strong a family likeness in spite of individual idiosyncrasies.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the book lies in its wealth of quotation. The passages are well chosen and translated. The strongest impressions with which they leave us are the emphasis on deification and transfiguration in the later Greek Fathers and the passionate love of nature in the Cappadocians. There is a good end map.

W.W.

A GREAT DEAN

DEAN CHURCH. THE ANGLICAN RESPONSE TO NEWMAN. By B. A. SMITH. O.U.P. 30s.

STUDIES of nineteenth-century Anglican history have been much to the fore of late, with Sir Geoffrey Faber's *Jowett*, Dr V. H. H. Green's *Oxford Common Room*, a picture of Lincoln College during the lifetime of Mark Pattison, and with the English translation of Pere Bouyer's *Newman*, a figure of perennial interest and fascination. Now Mr Smith has written the first biography of Dean Church for more than half a century. His volume is therefore of equal interest and importance; for R. W. Church, though, like Pattison, profoundly influenced by Newman, remained firm to Anglicanism during the crises of 1845 and 1850 and avoided the shipwreck of faith which was the lot of the Rector of Lincoln. Moreover alike by his personal gifts and from his official position as Dean of St Paul's from 1871 to 1890 he became the exponent of Anglicanism in a sorely perplexed and distraught generation. His biography was well worth the re-telling; and the author has done his work thoroughly, unobtrusively, and convincingly. His chief new source of information has been the letters from Church to Gladstone in the Gladstone Papers in the British Museum; but his own work has been essentially one of reinterpretation rather than of original discovery.

Perhaps the two outstanding characteristics of Church's mind were his historical approach and his maintenance of the tradition of Joseph Butler's *Analogy*. The former quality enabled him to keep his head when disasters threatened the Church, and the latter made him a serviceable apologist for Christianity in an age of scientific doubt and intellectual scepticism. Hence for him there could be no such thing as infallibility: "a future of which infallibility is the only hope and safeguard seems to us indeed a prospect of the deepest gloom". So too he held that in the mystery of the co-existence of good and evil, "Our Lord came among us not to clear up the perplexity, but to show us which side to take"; and therefore "the object of life here is to *do*, and not merely to know".

In churchmanship the Dean was an avowed partisan for the Oxford Movement. Moreover, his association with Gladstone enabled him to influence the bestowal of crown preferment to a not inconsiderable degree. Thus, although as his biographer admits, Church "had no theology to compare with Lightfoot", he prevented the possibility of the latter's succession to the primacy after Tait, by his observation to Gladstone that "I should be very uneasy if any grave question of reform or revision of creeds and formularies were decided under his influence". At St Paul's he had during his tenure of the deanery a brilliant galaxy of capitular talent, Gregory, Liddon, Lightfoot, Stubbs, and Scott Holland; and his genius harmonized their diversity of gifts. To all offers of further preferment (whether the deanery of Winchester or the see of Salisbury) he turned a deaf ear; and for this reason Gladstone trusted his advice in regard to others.

When the present writer was examined for deacon's orders in the diocese of London, Church's *St Anselm* was one of the set books. This biography has given him a desire and determination to turn back again to Church's works, and perhaps the biographer will regard this as the best tribute to his own skill and success in portraying the influence and importance of his subject. Mr Smith has written with care, critical acumen, and sympathy; and it is fitting that this survey of one who spent eighteen years as a parochial incumbent should have been written by a twentieth-century parish priest. It is an evidence of the continuing ability of the Church of England to produce a learned clergy that Mr Smith should have accomplished such a sound piece of work.

NORMAN SYKES

MORAL STORIES

MORE TALES WORTH TELLING. By ALBERT D. BELDEN. Independent Press, 8s. 6d.

THE author of this book has collected one hundred stories for children. They have been gathered from many sources, including the correspondence columns of a popular woman's magazine, but they are not primarily intended for entertainment. Neither are they mainly informative, for there is little in the way of intellectual "meat" in any of them. They form no part of a regularly planned meal for the mind, but they are mere "pills", sugar-coated, containing small concentrated doses of ethics, which presumably it is hoped will provide the mind with the necessary strengthening medicine to improve the mental and psychological condition of the consumer.

There are three groups of stories in this volume, the first for juniors, the second for seniors, and the third, called "miscellaneous", I suppose might be graded as "comprehensive". Unfortunately, Mr Belden cannot resist the temptation to point the moral of a story rather heavily, which he, as one devoted to children, ought to know is particularly exasperating to Juniors. The stories themselves are presented with the clarity which we should expect from the pen of a practised journalist but many are again marred by the fact that they are used as a means of propaganda against field-sports or on behalf of pacifism. Pills are a poor substitute for food.

F. A. F. POULDEN

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

LIGHTS AND SHADES OF CHRISTENDOM. Vol. III. A.D. 1556 to the present day. By H. PAKENHAM-WALSH. S.P.C.K. and C.L.S. Rs. 8.

BISHOP Pakenham-Walsh, who has spent nearly the whole of his ministry in India, has now completed a considerable task. The first volume of *Lights and Shades of Christendom* was published in 1935. The

present volume in thirteen chapters presents selected personalities and movements in Christian history from the Counter Reformation to the death of William Temple in 1944. The selection for so wide a field must inevitably be arbitrary; and as eight chapters deal with England and three with France, two only remain for the rest of the world!

The life of Ignatius Loyola and reform movements in the Russian Orthodox Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are fortunate to find a place. A German Lutheran, a Scandinavian or an American might scan the contents with a little disappointment. Positively viewed every chapter well deserves its place. Most of the ground covered has been so frequently handled in secondary authorities of similar and greater length that originality is not to be expected. But the author has read very widely and has a generous and balanced judgement and a live sense of the relevance of past experience to the modern situation. His concluding paragraphs to each chapter give his personal deductions in the form of lessons for the Church in India. These may be more useful to the readers he has in mind than might appear.

His generalizations are not always convincing and are frequently exaggerated. "Almost nothing was done to provide churches for the crowds flocking into the cities" is not consistent with the evidence in E. R. Wickham's recent study of England in the industrial revolution. Much was done, but it proved quite inadequate. There is a curiously inconsistent passage on Wesley's horse. Is it obstinate to disbelieve the tradition that Jansen had read the works of Augustine forty times? The position Napoleon had attained as General by 1795 is over stressed. The Mission in 1916 was styled The National Mission of Repentance and *Hope*, not Faith. There are at least eight misprints, and it is unfortunate that the last sentence in the book is ungrammatical.

Apart from these blemishes the book is extremely lucid and readable and the chapters on Ignatius Loyola, the Curé d'Ars and General Booth are strong and vivid, and the two last the more valuable as being on relatively less well trodden ground.

The book should be included in a Theological College or Training College Library, and would be useful on a Vicarage study shelf. The lights are gloriously high, the shades grim. But the true historical evidence of the lives of the saints is inescapably "stranger than fiction". The stature of St Ignatius and of the Curé d'Ars becomes ever more impressive.

J. S. Brewis

MARRIAGE A LA MODE

Made for Man. By A. P. Herbert: Methuen. 15s.

The dust cover describes this book as a novel, but it is really a phantasy or extravaganza. The characters are caricatures, for there can be no Admiral of the Fleet so nautical as Lord Caraway, nor an Archbishop

of Canterbury so smarmy as Dr Brayne, and one wonders why the author makes such an unfair caricature of himself as Sir Ewan Harker, though there may be some deep-seated explanation of this. The Dame is the most natural character of them all, and in her muddle-headed way, the noblest. It is rumbustious good fun, though it lacks the urbanity of a P. G. Wodehouse phantasy. One envies the author his use of language. His lucidity and feeling for words is brilliant, and the account of the debate in the House of Lords is a model of parliamentary reporting.

It is a book with a purpose, and the author is concerned to prove that marriage is simply a social arrangement "with religious frills", and that the Church of England is entirely subservient to the State. Lord Caraway would regard the Church as a naval auxiliary vessel but not a ship of the Royal Navy. No attempt is made to argue seriously the relationship between Church and State, nor is there any sympathetic treatment of the tensions produced by the Establishment. The author would appear to think that the relationship between Church and State is formulated through the Act of the Submission of the Clergy 1534, and the various Acts of Uniformity. Nor does he see that the relationship between Church and State has been radically altered since the abolition of the Test Acts. Parliament, however, has recognized this altered relationship in the passing of the Enabling Act.

No character is allowed to present the case that marriage is a contract *uberrimae fidei*, much less that it effects an ontological union. No churchman would assert that marriage is in the same category of Sacraments as the two Sacraments of the Gospel, but it is generally recognized that it has a sacramental character. This is never mentioned in the book.

There is no space to criticize the author's handling of the Matthaean exception, or his handling of the Bishops' attitude in the debates on the Herbert Act 1937. It is charitable to think that the author knows the marriage service better than he appears to do on page 36, where he suggests that there are at least two lessons in that service.

F. E. P. S. Langton

A SOCIAL EVIL

Gambling in English Life. By Benson Perkins. Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.

Dr Benson Perkins has made a life-long study of the problems of gambling, and this revised edition of his 1950 Beckley Social Service Lecture contains the fruits of his experience and research in the light of the most recent developments. It is a book which all students of social conditions should possess, for it brings together facts and figures which it would be difficult to find elsewhere.

It is frankly a prejudiced book, for Dr Perkins does not attempt to hide the strength of his convictions about the evil of gambling and its

consequences. The reader may well feel that this approach has in certain important respects impaired his judgement. Thus he is led to question the impartiality of the 1951 Royal Commission. He fails to discuss the vital relationship between skill and gambling, and so reaches such a conclusion as "clearly playing billiards for money is definitely gaming" (the definition of gaming having previously been given as "playing for money in a game of chance"!). He offers no practical alternative to the Betting Shop (of which he disapproves), as a cure for the scandal of illegal street betting; while the six-point programme which he suggests for a legislative policy will seem to many so impracticable as to be of little positive value, for it suggests the complete abolition of all lotteries, totalisators, and pools, the dissociation of organized betting from all outdoor games or sport, including horse- and dog-racing, and the extinction of the profession of the bookmaker.

The great value of Dr Benson Perkin's book is that it leaves the reader in no doubt about the huge volume of gambling in this country, its potential and actual dangers, the existence of a powerful industry actively engaged in extending the practice of gambling, and the lamentable weakness of successive governments, which have failed to promote a positive policy of curbing and controlling this socially undesirable practice, and consequently have been driven back from one defensive position to another, giving way step by step to the gambling interests.

✠ GERALD CESTR :

THE SAINTS IN THEIR LETTERS

LETTERS FROM THE SAINTS. By CLAUDE WILLIAMSON. Rockcliff. 21s.

THE majority of these letters belong to the period of the Counter Reformation. It is a foolish habit, we think, to consult the conclusion of a story before digesting that which leads up to it, but few readers will resist the temptation to read first the biographical sketch which Fr Williamson appends to each group of letters, for without so doing it is hard to appraise the purport of what is written.

This is essentially a "bedside" book, for it is not possible to appraise the sentiments of forty writers, mostly of brief epistles, if read at a sitting. All but nine of the Saints and *Beati* are members of Religious Orders; four were martyrs during the Elizabethan persecution of Recusants. The main theme, therefore, of the majority is faithfulness to the Evangelical Counsels, and the triumph of the spirit over the flesh in enduring petty irritations, sickness, obloquy, and persecution. Those who were called to martyrdom give clear evidence that they met it in the spirit of him who, for the joy that was set before him, despised the shame. And so they are a searching rebuke to the respectability which does duty for Christian Witness to-day.

The letters emphasize the high ideals of holiness possessed by the writers. They do not (for the most part) of necessity, reveal how

exceptional such standards were in the Renaissance Church. Had they been typical of the Church's life from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the havoc of the Reformation would never have taken place. In reading this book, the layman might well conclude that the period in question was the heyday of the saints.

T. DILWORTH-HARRISON

ANGLICANISM TO-DAY

THE CHURCH OF FREE MEN: BACKGROUND TO LAMBETH 1958. By GORDON HEWITT. Highway Press. 2s. 6d.

THIS book may cordially be commended to those who would understand the movement of the Spirit which has brought into being the world-wide Anglican Communion. The modest price (there are over 50 well-packed pages) will help to commend it.

It begins with a lively interview with a Bishop, eliciting many facts about the Anglican Communion, its strength and structure. There follows the story of its growth, the idea of "freedom" providing a unifying theme. The humanitarian impulse of the movement for the abolition of slavery was transformed into the evangelical purpose of freeing men from the slavery of false religion. Missionary success led to the planting of the Church in many lands, and the beginning of a further movement towards freedom, that of the development of self-governing Churches. The period of growth since the first Lambeth Conference is sketched with the help of "Mission" and "Unity" as keywords. Accounts of the lives of Bishop Crowther, and Bishop Azariah are woven into the story to illustrate these movements.

Chapter 4 discusses the factors with which the Anglican Communion contends to-day in its endeavour to become "a Church of Free Men": the growth and movement of populations, the resurgence of non-Christian religions, rising nationalism. These things demand a greater flexibility in missionary strategy, and underline the urgency of the re-creation of a united Christendom. In this connection the Bishop of Olympia's words are quoted: "The vocation of Anglicanism is, ultimately, to disappear". If Bishop Bayne had known the wide currency his words (whose general sense is unexceptionable) would have, he might have spoken of the transcending rather than the disappearance of Anglicanism.

The good measure of this little book is pressed down with some instructive Tables showing the growth of the Anglican Communion and its relationship (up to 1948) with other Churches.

One question mark should be placed in the margin on page 49 where "the recently revived Order of Deaconesses" is said to be included among the orders of the Church's ministry.

ERIC G. JAY

MODERN WARFARE

DETERRENCE OR RETALIATION OR CHRISTIANITY. By PERCY W. BARTLETT. Friends Peace Committee. 1s.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A TASK OF THE CHURCH. Ecumenical Institute, Comenius Faculty of Theology. Prague.

THE DEBATE on nuclear weapons continues. These two pamphlets firmly support one side, that of the total opposition. Both call attention to the fear and suspicion between peoples, and ask for prayer and penitence from Christians. Both plead for deeper understanding of the Biblical teaching, and for the spirit of reconciliation. Deterrence and retaliation cannot change the wills of men, and only the Church can act with faith to break through the deadlock.

The pamphlet from Prague is interesting as it contains a paper from Dr Hromadka who with some other theologians has sought to bear a Christian witness in such a measure of freedom as the Church is permitted under a Communist Government. It is impossible to tell how far this pamphlet is an instrument in the cold war. With a great deal of what it says all Christians will find themselves in agreement. Its emphasis upon the Bible, upon prayer and upon penitence is strong.

Charity and persuasion are to be found in both pamphlets. Of the two the one from Prague has a more profound understanding of the Church's task. Mr Bartlett emphasizes individual witness.

All will sympathize with the aim of abolishing nuclear warfare. But these writers take too little account of the complexity of the whole problem. They say nothing about the economic and political realities which involve states in their relationships. There is no hard appraisal of the possible consequences of unilateral abolition of nuclear weapons by the free nations. There is no linking up of the problem with disarmament by agreement, or with the United Nations, and no account seems to be taken of the thought of such theologians as Reinhold Niebuhr on group relationships. The pamphlets are too slight in comparison with the complexity of the situation they discuss.

MARCUS KNIGHT

THE MEANING OF KNOWLEDGE

AN ANALYSIS OF KNOWING. By JOHN HARTLAND-SWANN. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

THE nature of knowledge as distinct from belief and opinion is obviously relevant for Christians, so that a coherent attempt such as Professor Hartland-Swann has made to elucidate the logic of "know" will interest those who are attempting to assess the impact of analytical philosophy on theological thought. There are some who might be inclined to dismiss the piecemeal dissection of concepts by divergent

analysers as a phase parallel with the "logomachies" of the later sceptics and the logical battles of the later schoolmen. Others however, and notably Dr Alisdair MacIntyre, Dr E. L. Mascall, and in a more limited field Mr Michael Foster, have shown that the challenge to the meaningfulness of our beliefs must be taken seriously.

In the work under review, a series of studies of "knowing" is collected and co-ordinated by the author. He is faced with considerable disagreements among philosophers in their analysis of the function of "knowing that" and "believing". In particular the view of Professor Austin (Logic and Language) that when I say I know I "give others my word: I give others my authority for saying that. . . ." and of Professor Woozley (Theory of Knowledge, p. 191) that knowing involves "(a) having evidence (b) being right about the evidence, and (c) relating the evidence rightly to the conclusion" are criticized. Hartland-Swann's analysis is based on decision. "You can justifiably say 'I know' if the decision on which this assertion is based is well-grounded" (p. 43). "Well-grounded" means, in technical matters, the consensus of experts, and on non-technical matters the dominant decision of normal and intelligent people. "Knowing" statements involve a prior and personal decision in all cases: "Knowing that" is reduced to a special case of "knowing how", for "knowing that p. occurred" is really "being able to give a correct statement that p. occurred".

The decision-analysis of knowing is not very helpful as to factual statements of Christian belief, for being non-technical, or without expert evidence, the personal decision should ex-hypothesi be based on the consensus of normal and intelligent people at the time; although our New Testament evidence is that of normal and intelligent people, and they proclaimed their knowledge confidently, the grounds for their decision were not and still are not uncontrovertible, and their "know" statements required the acceptance of faith. Nor is it helpful when the concepts of religion are involved: for the author would then demand a further analysis of the concepts. And the truths of Christianity, not being logical but transcendent, and, in part, what the Analysts call dispositional and we call verbal expressions of spiritual realities, are not analysable logically. Our ultimate appeal would appear to be to authority and conversion.

C. B. Armstrong

WILLIAM HARNESS

Trusty and Well Beloved. Edited by Caroline M. Duncan-Jones. S.P.C.K. 18s. 6d

"Our trusty and well beloved William Harness Esq^r^"—in such conventional terms was the Officer who forms the subject of Mrs Duncan-Jones' book addressed. She is at pains to show that in his case they had more than a formal significance.

William Harness was in fact, her great-great-great uncle, who held a commission in the 80th Regiment of Foot in the reign of George III. Her book is based upon the correspondence which passed between him and Elizabeth his wife. Long periods of separation, during which Harness was stationed in Guernsey, the Low Countries, Ceylon, Egypt, and India, occasioned the letters, which are pieced together here to form a delightful story.

As one might expect, there are few references in them to matters ecclesiastical, although much is to be learned of eighteenth-century Anglicanism from a note written by Harness at a time when, enduring the long seven years of engagement prior to matrimony, he had momentarily contemplated exchanging his military career for a clerical one, and told his beloved that "six months would be all that would be requisite for my attaining *Priest's* Orders"!

In days when travel meant far greater hazards than now; when there was neither telephone, nor cablegram, nor air-mail; the sole means of maintaining personal contact was by letter, which, to and from abroad, might be a year or more in transit—Harness at Alexandria in January 1802, received a letter written by his wife in England in November 1800.

One may well imagine therefore, how immensely treasured would be the correspondence which Mrs Duncan-Jones has brought out of the family chest. It is no less valuable to us because of the light which it sheds upon a particular period of English history, as well as upon the life of a devoted husband and wife and their children.

GORDON HUELIN

A TEST CASE?

A PROFEST PAPIST: BISHOP JOHN GORDON. T. F. TAYLOR. S.P.C.K. Church Historical Society. 7s. 6d.

THE "bloodless Revolution" of 1688, with the expulsion of the Stuart monarch James II from the English throne, produced many notable instances of heroism and self-sacrifice.

John Gordon, the last Bishop of the independent see of Galloway, was not among them. Rather, he was "a slippery customer who knew how to lie"; who produced a highly controversial treatise "Pax Vobis"; and who, as Mr Taylor says in the preface, is "known mostly as he bumps against his fellows". Indeed, he would be of comparatively little concern, were it not for the fact that when, in 1896, Leo XIII issued the Bull "Apostolicae curae", declaring Anglican Orders null and invalid, the case cited as the grounds of this rejection was that of Gordon in 1704.

It would appear that having accompanied James II into exile, first to Ireland, where his behaviour caused the celebrated Dean (afterwards Archbishop) King to describe him as a "very ignorant lewd man, a profest Papist"; and thence to the court of St Germains, Gordon found

himself reduced to such low financial straits, that he turned in desperation to Rome. An investigation as to the validity of his orders, of which, he declared, he had grave doubts, led the Holy Office to reject them because of the indefiniteness of the "form" used.

It has hitherto been generally assumed, both by Roman and other authorities, that the rite employed in Gordon's ordination was that of 1662. Mr Taylor, on the basis of two unpublished essays of the late Dom Gregory Dix, shows this to have been most unlikely. More probably, was it the little used ordinal of 1620, the "Forme and Maner of Ordaining Ministers", which omits all reference to the priesthood. In his reconstruction of the Gordon case, he has made a most interesting contribution to a vexed question. His book possesses an importance out of all proportion to its size.

GORDON HUELIN

PAPAL DELEGATION

THE BISHOP AND THE PRESBYTER. By J. B. BROSNAN. Catholic Printing Co. of Farnworth. 7s. 6d.

DR MASCALL in his recent book, *The Recovery of Unity*, has spoken of the tendency in Roman Catholic circles to "submerge the sacramental aspect of the Catholic Church beneath the administrative and juridical". In support of this he cites the growing opinion of Roman Catholic theologians that the Pope has power to delegate the power to ordain to simple priests. The Reverend Joseph Brosnan believes that the evidence for supposed cases of this is insufficient, and that though the Pope can delegate the power to confer the diaconate to a simple priest, and even the power to consecrate a bishop, no priest can ordain a priest. His book consists of two booklets bound together and not very well printed, and there is a good deal of repetition. For him the consecration of a bishop is not a sacrament, and he disbelieves in the possibility of a layman being consecrated bishop per saltum. When cases from the past are alleged, he believes that they were in fact ordained priest first. He also thinks that without papal permision no bishop has the power to consecrate another bishop.

KENNETH N. ROSS

S.C.M. STORY

CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY. By J. DAVIS MCCAUGHEY. S.C.M. 25s.

PERHAPS a clergyman at one of the older universities is not the most suitable person to review Professor McCaughey's book. And maybe Cambridge is a cloud-cuckoo backwater where issues are blurred and tensions relaxed to a degree that would be impossible at Redbrick.

Whatever the reason, I found *Christian Obedience in the University* a depressing, pompous, and boring account of student religious life between the years 1930-1950.

I do not question the professor's facts, but I wonder whether his selection and presentation of them does justice to the situation. No doubt the leaders of the Student Christian Movement felt with gloomy intensity the conditions he describes—but leaders do not look at life through the eyes of an undergraduate, nor is their vision balanced by the humdrum routine of the parish priest who, although he has few illusions about human nature, is constantly surprised by its goodness and humour.

Manchuria, Hitler, Abyssinia, Russia, Spain—I was a student at the time and remember McCaughey's catalogue. Most of us, I think, knew the way the world was going, and in our religious and political societies we made our protest; but as life had to be lived and examinations passed, we had not the time to set ourselves up as prophets of doom. The author and his friends seem to have revolved in a world of tensions, insights, and judgements (isn't it time we gave this word a bit of a rest?); endlessly they spoke to situations; and at least one of them "kept his long vigil through the darkness". Maybe if they had taken themselves a little less seriously they would have been of more use to undergraduates.

Nor am I prepared to accept Dr McCaughey's assessment of students in recent years: "It is probable that self-consciousness and introspection became greater as our period progressed: it is almost certain that the sense of insecurity and anxiety did so". I do not know on what evidence he bases his assumptions. My experience, for the little it is worth, is different. Two recent public opinion polls in Cambridge state that 55% of undergraduates claim to be practising Christians; and, if their faith means anything to them, they are presumably learning to cope with insecurity and anxiety. And that certainly is the impression that many of them give. We have our depressives and neurotics and, because of the size of the university, we know the curse of loneliness; but there is a vigour and purpose among contemporary undergraduates which often puts the older generations to shame. And although they may not be able to express their religious reactions in the turgid vocabulary of neo-continental theology they do try at a hundred-and-one levels to follow the Master and to serve his Church.

But it would be unfair to Professor McCaughey to dismiss his book merely as dreary and pompous. It contains much useful information, and, in spite of its tense vocabulary, it bears witness to the magnificent pioneering done by the Student Christian Movement. The S.C.M. although it plays a valuable part at Oxbridge, is of even greater importance at Redbrick, where, as is often the case, there are neither chaplains nor chapels. Moreover, he poses questions that ought to be faced—what is the function of the university? what is the relationship between theological learning and secular knowledge? what are the best methods of helping the Christian student to appreciate the impact that

his faith should make upon life? And the S.C.M. has done, and is doing, as much as any organization, and probably more, to find the answers.

Perhaps one day a less polyphemic propagandist will write the history of the Student Christian Movement, and we shall learn more of its constructive work and witness. Anybody who has had the privilege to be associated with the S.C.M. knows that there is a story worth telling. It will, of course, cover much of Professor McCaughey's ground, but it will dwell even more on the accomplishments of an age-group that manages to combine a serious and sensible attitude towards life with a realization that joy is one of the fruits of the Spirit—and native humour a saving grace which not even the most earnest Christian can afford to neglect.

MERVYN STOCKWOOD

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION. By HENRY JAMES BURGESS. National Society and S.P.C.K. 25s.

WE SHOULD feel greatly indebted to the author of this work for his obviously wide and conscientious research into the records and into much of the contemporary expressed opinion of the period with which he deals, mainly that of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It is clear that he has tried to be fair and objective in his judgement, even though the High Church party and certain sections of the Tractarians appear to have been allotted an extremely heavy handicap in the process. For instance, in the first chapter, the author chooses to quote Dr Hans, the author of *Educational Traditions in the English-Speaking Countries* in saying that "the High Church party . . . looked upon the education of the poor as a charity and lacked the Evangelical sense of obligation to elevate the masses". In the middle of the twentieth century the word "charity" has sunk into disrepute and has acquired a very different meaning from that still attached to its use in the period under review. Then "charity" meant what it said, namely that it was an act of love and, as such, was essentially evangelical in its fullest sense. This alteration in the use of words also leads to another slight misrepresentation when Mr Burgess describes the Sunday-School movement as being inter-denominational, when surely a more correct term would be multi-denominational.

Much of the interest created by the work lies in the fact that difficult situations encountered in the past are apt to represent themselves in broad outline to-day. We can therefore learn much from the strategy employed in those days even if the tactics of to-day have to be entirely different. The author vindicates the Church of England as the pioneer and champion of the general education of the people of this land. He shows that the Church gained in her influence while it was enthusiastic enough to pursue with faith and with determination a policy based

upon principle, placing its main stress upon the needs of the children themselves. Financial difficulties, enormous at the time, were not allowed to obscure that faith or to impede the progress. Such faith united all parties within the Church, upheld the required standards, and stimulated a considerable amount of voluntary contributions. In this struggle the author has proved that the Church was largely responsible for many advances hitherto claimed as improvements inaugurated by the State. For example, in the experiments with the pupil-teacher system, the Church was well to the fore in pioneering the way, though through a lack of sufficient funds she had to leave the development of the system to the State which could command such resources. By the way, a printing error should be noted on page 106, where the omission of the word "not" in line 20 before the word "less" makes nonsense of the sentence.

Managers of Aided Schools to-day might read this work with great profit. When faced with the task of making permanent appointments to the teaching staffs of their schools they may read that wise comment of Coleridge, the first Principal of the College of St Mark, Chelsea, on the mental equipment of would-be teachers, "What a man knows obscurely he cannot teach". This is pre-eminently true of the teacher of Religious Instruction.

We hope that many people concerned with religious education will read this book. We are sure that they will profit by it.

F. A. F. POULDEN

A CLASSIC OF CALVINISM

FREEDOM OF THE WILL. The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 1. Yale University Press: London, O.U.P. 52s.

THE Yale University Press by the assistance of the Bollinger foundation, has undertaken the publication in eight volumes of a new edition of the works of its former student and President, Jonathan Edwards, the Calvinist theologian (1703-1758). His most celebrated work, "A careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of . . . Freedom of the Will", has been chosen for the first volume and has been carefully edited by the Professor of Religion at Princeton, Dr Paul Ramsey. The text of the original edition, 1754, has been carefully collated with that of the Worcester (Mass.) edition of 1808 and has not been modernized, so that we have the authentic flavour, in its full clarity and verbosity, of this eighteenth century Divine. The Editor has provided a comprehensive introduction (128 pages) and a full index; this edition may clearly be regarded as definitive.

While discounting what may well seem to be extravagant praise, drawn mainly from Dwight's *Life of President Edwards*, 1829 (for example "the greatest philosopher theologian ever to grace the American scene" and—of his chief writings—"four of the ablest and most valuable works which the Church of Christ has in its possession"),

there is much to admire in this stern Calvinist who devoted a singularly logical mind and great powers of exposition to his refutation of Arminianism by which he feared that the younger generation would "be carried away as with a flood". The "Enquiry" is said to have been written in four and a half months, but its substance had been the constant thought of the writer during a stormy parochial experience at Northampton (Mass.) and the revival known as the Great Awakening 1740-43 which was in part stimulated by his preaching.

The work may fairly be called a Classic of Calvinism. Its arguments against the Freedom of the Will and in favour of universal determinism, total depravity, irresistible Grace and "absolute eternal personal election" will surprise by their acuteness and logic many Anglicans who may incline to take lightly the anti-Arminian bias of Article XVII as referring to outworn controversies. The neo-Calvinist revival of our own day has made them relevant. Edward's treatise rests on two pillars, Biblical and Philosophical. The former, depending as it does on scriptural evidence of God's foreknowledge, will not carry assent from those who are not fundamentalists. A second contention that Our Lord's will during his incarnate life was not free but necessarily holy, and therefore virtuous and praiseworthy, depends on a distinction made by the author between natural and moral necessity: both are equally "necessity" because an effect may be as perfectly connected with a moral cause as with a natural cause.

The crux of the philosophical argument for determinism lies in Edwards' analysis of the act of willing. Analysis, by the way, and definition play a very modern part in his method. He defines an act of the will as an act of choosing, on Locke's lines. A man cannot will anything contrary to what he prefers. We are determined by our motives, a motive being a resultant of all the considerations which together induce us to will an act. Volition always has in mind that which is most agreeable. We do not choose *by* a free act of the will, because the argument by regression shows that the first choice, i.e. the first free act of the will must *ex hypothesi* be preceded by a further free act of the will before the first. On the view that the act of the will is always determined by the motive it is easy to show that motives are conditioned throughout. Freedom thus is reduced to the power of acting in accordance with our will, when we can do so. We are not free to will because God's will imposes on us a moral necessity. Is God's will, then, responsible for sin? He permits sin for wise and holy ends, for example Pharaoh's obstinacy, knowing perfectly all the results which will follow. Man is under a "moral necessity" of sinning, because of a universally determining providence, but, on the other hand, the elect are so disposed by irresistible Grace.

An attempt to summarize Edwards' long argument is obviously impossible: it takes Dr Ramsay 128 pages of introduction to do so: its refutation must also be left to the reader, that is to anyone who wants to get to the heart of Calvinism.

C. B. Armstrong

DYNAMIC RELIGION

MAKING PRAYER REAL. By LYNN J. RADCLIFFE. Longmans. 18s. 6d.

RELIGION AS SALVATION. By HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL. Longmans. 18s. 6d.

THESE two books are companions in more ways than one. They are published in similar format, and they are both by American Methodist ministers. But more than this, they hold together in that while *Making Prayer Real* deals with a vital and fundamental activity of the Christian life, *Religion As Salvation* shows the nature and meaning of that life, and its goal.

Which of these books should be read first? In a measure it is immaterial; and yet it is probably wise to explore with Dr Radcliffe the rich treasures and possibilities of prayer and realize afresh its place in the Christian life before setting out to travel with Professor Rall along the way of salvation, which leads from man's present state as fallen and sinful, to God's undying purpose for him—eternal life in heaven.

Both these books are of great interest and not difficult to read, in spite of the fact that they are concerned with matters of profound and fundamental importance for Christian devotion and theology. So they are most attractive and valuable and to be commended to all serious and thoughtful Christians, and not only to the advanced scholar.

In *Making Prayer Real* Dr Radcliffe covers the whole range of Christian prayer, from its simplest beginnings to its highest reaches in transforming union with God. He lays the foundations for all consideration of prayer by emphasizing its essential place in the Christian life, and by stressing that the fundamental need of mankind today is a spiritual renaissance—a new and vital hold on religion and an appreciation of its essential relevance for man's life in the world. And that means an understanding of prayer—what it is and what it does; for prayer is the very heart of religion. "A quickening of the life of devotion is the supreme need of Christianity if it is to become the powerful force our modern world so desperately needs."

For prayer to become real we must have the knowledge of God as a personal, living reality. "We must, each one of us, start out upon the high road of prayer in a personal pilgrimage from self to God. An inner awakening is the first classic movement in the symphony of prayer and devotion. It is man becoming aware of the eternal environment to which in reality he belongs." And to know God we must find him through the Bible. Bible reading, and especially devotional Bible reading, is a first essential to real, vital prayer. "No preparation for prayer can ever excel a growing and deepening acquaintance with the Bible." "God's word still speaks. Under the living influence of the Holy Spirit words can come alive in our experience, and insight can flame into illuminating visions as we devoutly sit in the presence of these inspired messages."

So, from these beginnings, Dr Radcliffe takes us through the various ways and stages of prayer. Perhaps, as we proceed, we may feel rather

overwhelmed. There is so much that may be done, such heights of prayer that may be reached—can we ever do it? Dr Radcliffe does not leave us despondently wondering. He says: "May I suggest that, after becoming familiar with the whole sweep of the developing life of prayer, you return to one chapter and endeavour practically and devotedly to make it a part of your own living experience. It is my earnest hope that this book shall be not so much read as lived."

Religion As Salvation deals with the fundamental character of the Christian religion and its essential message. And what is salvation? It is the very life of the Christian. That is Professor Rall's starting point and his main theme. Christianity is a dynamic religion, a religion of life and power; and in this aspect of religion as salvation we have the clearest expression of its dynamic nature. "We see in the salvation of man the purpose and work of the living God." "Life is the key word for our understanding of salvation." Salvation is God's gift of life to man; "life at its highest, life of body and spirit, life individual and inner, life in its social aspects, the corporate life of man developing in history, life consummated in another world. Salvation is life: It cannot be less than this, and there is nothing greater."

In a consideration of salvation it is necessary to start with an examination of the origin and nature of man and of his present state. So the first two parts of Professor Rall's book are concerned with the Christian doctrine of man and of sin. From these essential preliminaries he proceeds to a very full discussion of his main subject, Christian Salvation, what it is and what it means and how it works out in human life. This is all very well done, and includes, naturally, a consideration of the Church, its nature and function; grace and the means of grace—sacraments; and the work of the Holy Spirit. In this part of his book especially, the author's own Church position is made clear. As he says: "it is evangelical. It does not see the Church as a legally established institution, authoritarian, infallible, administering a priestly-sacramentarian salvation; but it sees Christianity as the religion of a fellowship, the Church as at once instrument and realization of God's work of salvation."

The closing chapters of the book contain a stimulating study of salvation in history, and the meaning of Historical-Social Salvation, and of the Kingdom of God on earth, and so, finally, of the life to come.

A. J. G. Hawes

NICHOLAS RIDLEY

Nicholas Ridley. By Jasper Godwin Ridley. Longmans. 25s.

It was on the morning of 16 October 1555, that two men were led out to execution, in the dry ditch just outside the walls on the north side of the city of Oxford. They were men of standing and consequence: the one, Nicholas Ridley, was a former bishop of Rochester and London; the other, Hugh Latimer, had lately held the see of Worcester. As the

soldiers set light to the pile of faggots at their feet, Latimer called out to his younger companion, fastened to the other side of the same stake: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day by God's grace light such a candle in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Those immortal words, wherein his name is contained, and the misguided zeal which led him, in the name of the Reformation, to perpetrate acts of vandalism, more especially in his own diocese of London, perhaps constitute the sum-total of the average person's knowledge concerning Nicholas Ridley.

Not a particularly popular figure in his own day—when, for instance, as his biographer records, in January 1545, he offered himself as a candidate for election to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, he ended at the bottom of the list, with only five votes, as against the seventy-nine for the successful candidate, Matthew Parker —Ridley has, for some reason, ever since failed to secure the attention which has been given by historians and other writers to his colleagues. In fact, no biography has appeared since Gloucester Ridley's "Life of Dr Nicholas Ridley", published in the year 1763. This makes the recent work of Mr Jasper Ridley, who is himself a descendant of the favourite sister of Nicholas, all the more welcome. It is a very full biography, which is written from a historical rather than a theological point of view, making use of all the available sources, and covering much in addition to the life-story of the man who gives to it its name. There are some pleasing illustrations, as well as footnotes and references to each chapter, and a bibliography.

Like Cranmer, with whom, from the moment in 1537 when he became the archbishop's chaplain, his destiny was linked, and whom he actually surpassed in clarity of mind, Ridley showed a marked preference for the life of a scholar. This fact, together with his known sympathies for the "New Religion", may partly account for the slowness in his being accorded the recognition he obviously deserved. Once Edward VI had ascended the throne however, Ridley's fortunes were assured for so long as the young king reigned.

It was during this time that, as bishop of London, he was to take those measures in his cathedral church, for which he is especially remembered. To quote Mr Jasper Ridley: "Ridley was determined to make it clear that the Communion was a commemoration of the Lord's Supper by the communicants to be performed on a table, and in private. On the Tuesday in Holy Week—24th March—the iron gates on the north and south side of the quire were closed at Ridley's orders, and a wall was erected adjoining them, so as to close the upper quire to the north and south. The work was completed by Easter Eve, when Ridley attended the service at St. Paul's. After the singing of the Creed, the Communion table was carried down the steps into the middle of the upper quire, and set facing east and west. A curtain was then drawn across the quire to cut off the table from view, and Communion was celebrated in private" (p. 253).

To-day, the majority of those who call themselves Anglicans would deplore this streak in Ridley's mentality. Yet, for all that, they can never cease to admire the fortitude with which he unwaveringly faced the horrible agonies of a martyr's death, as are so vividly described in the final chapter of this book. Mr Jasper Ridley does not spare to include his ancestor's faults, as well as to record his virtues. Students and others will be indebted to him for giving us what should be the standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

GORDON HUELIN

CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY

MILITANT HERE ON EARTH. By MAURICE B. RECKITT. Longmans. 9s. 6d.

FOR a generation and more there has been a small but important group of Anglican scholars, mainly of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion, who have made sociology—or rather Christian sociology—their specialism. Along with such names as Temple, Demant, Eliot, and the late Dorothy Sayers goes that of Mr Reckitt, the author of this book, in which he places before a wider public his "considerations on the prophetic function of the Church in the twentieth century". The first three chapters consist of the Keene lectures which he gave in Chelmsford Cathedral in 1954, while the others comprise individual articles or lectures given elsewhere.

This is not an easy book to review, simply because it ranges over such a wide and indeterminate field, and does so in a short space. "Its purpose", says the author, "is not so much to rebuke 'the World' as first to examine and confess the shortcomings of the Church, and then to suggest what are nevertheless the unexampled, if too much neglected, resources of the Christian Faith for the illumination and reassurance of mankind". The first three chapters under the general title "The Faith and the Faithful" are a clear, even arresting, statement of the particular problems of our post-Christian, technologically-organized society for the Christian religion. Few will disagree with his diagnosis, but some will be less happy about his suggested treatment.

The chapter "Man and Society" has many wise comments and quotations on Christianity as a world-affirming, rather than a world-denying, religion. His remark at the end that Christians ought not to take our own moment in history too seriously, since they believe that they are not imprisoned in time, is welcome, but might have been better for elaboration. His next chapter on the "redeemability" of society also warns against the philosophy of despair which tends to overtake many Christians bewildered by the drift of modern society. These two chapters and the first section would make an admirable basis for the work of parish study groups through a winter session. The parish clergyman in search of ideas for sermons on broad social issues may also find useful ideas and striking passages in this little book.

The last section deals with "two twentieth-century prophets". The work of William Temple is comparatively well-known. Mr Reckitt also rightly draws attention to the much neglected John Neville Figgis (1866-1919), once his own mentor, whom he describes as "perhaps the most significant Anglican prophet of his generation". Apart from M. G. Tucker's biography, little has been written to bring Figgis to wider notice. These pages may inspire some young Christian researcher to make good this gap in the history of modern sociology, and so cause even the secular sociologist to reconsider what Christianity has to say to contemporary society. Figgis was one of the first to point out the dangers to religion and to man of the socialist state.

D. W. GUNDRY

PIONEERING IN SOUTH AFRICA

PRIEST AND PIONEER. A Memoir of Osmund Victor, C.R. By DORIS THOMPSON. With a Preface by SIR JOHN KENNEDY, and a Foreword by LORD MALVERN. Faith Press. 15s.

AS ONE follows the account of Fr Victor's forty years in South Africa, of strenuous ministry carried through with unflagging zeal to the very end, one is impressed chiefly, perhaps, by the clearness and consistency of his convictions in the great matters which constitute South Africa's main problems at this moment. He lived completely for the application of the fullest Christian principles throughout. In his book *The Salient of South Africa* published in 1931 he wrote: "The fundamental principle is the unity of all mankind in Christ". At the same time he states clearly how the principles are to be carried out in practice. "The unity of the Church is secured by the one Bishop and one synod in each Diocesan area." He describes the relationship between white and black church leadership in a charming simile. "It is the task of the European to organize, to guide and to give backbone to the native Church in early days, but he soon comes to realize his limitations; he cannot cover the ground and, whatever his knowledge of the language, he cannot get inside the native mind or appeal to native thought. He can neither win nor hold in the same way. White corks may help to hold the net up, but the great net itself must be a black one."

The memoir portrays vividly Fr Victor's physical courage and endurance in coping with tough pioneering conditions. His own words are quoted. "Saturday morning after breakfast you pack things on to a bicycle, vestments, cassock, and books take up all the space, and there is no room for luxuries other than a pipe and a paper or book to read on the way in the train. . . . I also carry a toothbrush and Gillette razor, but no pyjamas as one has to sleep in one's clothes. Cycling is so hard in this country that it is important to get as near to the place as possible by rail. I did six miles this afternoon against a head wind and it took me one and a half hours to do it. The roads are mere tracks across the veldt

and after heavy rain are almost impassable especially in the hollows. To-day I should have had to cross a spruit up to my waist if the Catechist had not possessed a cart and driven me across. . . . Romance on the Road in South Africa—whether in terms of wagons, mule carts or cars—but no one bothers very much about romance when he is engaged in doing the job, and a Bishop lying on his back in the road contending with engine trouble, or dealing with a burst tyre, fifty miles from anywhere, would probably prefer to do without it." His time on the Western Front in the first world war shows the same quiet realism. "In the last Casualty Clearing Station our Church was also our overflow mortuary; every morning there were some—perhaps as many as a dozen—poor bodies lying out on the floor before the Altar; a strange congregation, for I don't think their souls were far away." As architect and builder many are the Mission buildings and Churches which owe their existence to his skill and drive. To few men is given to see so many cherished dreams realized. The crowning joy was the Dedication of the completed cloisters of Salisbury Cathedral which the Queen Mother attended.

Clearly, however, Fr Victor stands out chiefly as priest and pastor—lover of souls. We are given a glimpse of this in his description of Holy Week at Penhalonga in 1921. "Little processions emerged from various points of the compass, headed by banners and bursting into song as soon as they drew near the Mission. These were the out-stations led by the Catechists. Their singing was more enthusiastic than tuneful, beginning in the excitement of the moment on the highest note of which they were capable, and any further attempt at a rise in pitch only resulted in an increased volume of sound . . . At the feast the *pièce de résistance* was an ox . . . boiled . . . After the feast came singing. At the outset, on the part of the girls at least, there was all the smirking and the fiddling-with-the-corner-of-the-apron sort of shyness which is common to all the world; but by the time the song was over all shyness had vanished, and with refreshing absence of false modesty, each party with great enthusiasm initiated the applause which greeted its own performance. Then when the sun began to go down, each party formed itself afresh and left, singing as it had come. It is only thirty years since these folk were living in squalid hovels among the rocks on the mountain tops for fear of Matabele and Gaza raids and massacres—their annual portion for as long as they could remember—barely having seen a white man and never a white woman and knowing nothing of Christ." What an instance to quote to those who say "What good is the Church?" and a fact to be remembered in this present time of tensions.

Little is said in this short book of Fr Victor's life in his Community but his thoroughness and devotion as a Religious are made clear. Much of real help and inspiration to the individual awaits in the five closing chapters on his pastoral work. His most apt application of Scripture to problems of the moment to bring guidance and inspiration, and his freshness of thought and diction would be a stimulus to anyone. One

of his favourite quotations is given as "It is the misfortune of many never to have collided with a life that depended wholly on prayer". This little memoir in introducing us to this Mirfield Father provides a sure opportunity for such a "collision".

T. L. MANSON, S.S.J.E.

DEVOTIONAL READING

THE GOSPEL OF MARK. By RICHARD GLOVER. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 17s. 6d.

THIS BOOK, first published in the age of Spurgeon, is called "A Teacher's Commentary"; and we are told by the publishers that it is the kind of book to put into the hands of a busy lay preacher, Sunday School workers, and regular readers of the Scriptures. It is certainly a series of earnest meditations; but we find it difficult to use the term "Teacher's Commentary" of a work which has no adequate introduction, and which often meets the profoundest issues not with confrontation and a clear statement, but with a completely inadequate comment, or indeed with total disregard.

It is plain from the start that we cannot expect any dealing with critical matters such as chronology or discrepancies between the Gospels; but the obvious sincerity of the author leads us to hope for more than a pious glance at some of the deeper things of Christ's teaching. It would appear impossible, for instance, to meditate on a key passage, such as Mark 10. 35-45, without pointing out to readers its importance in revealing how Christ himself thought of his mission, and how it was he who brought together the Son of Man and the Suffering Servant ideas, and transmuted the notion of the Messiah as a political leader into that of a humble servant of an afflicted humanity. The wonderful translation of this into Pauline language (Phil. 2. 5-11) is not even mentioned.

This book relates the Gospel to the life of the Christian, always with reverence, often with shrewdness, sometimes with imagination. From this point of view it could be recommended as a book of meditation for the faithful. The author, who in 1884 was elected President of the Baptist Union, allows controversy to intrude at times, but not on the whole to the destruction of the atmosphere of prayerful thought.

There is no bibliography and no index. Very few people indeed must have good enough eyes to enjoy the typology of the Gospel text here reproduced in both authorized and revised versions.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

MODERN HOMILIES

GOODNESS AND TRUTH. SERMONS OF DEAN INGE. Edited by Prebendary A. F. JUDD. Mowbray. 13s. 6d.

WINDSOR SERMONS. By ALEC R. VIDLER. S.C.M. 15s.

THERE was a custom among publishers fifty or sixty years ago to bind up with the volumes they published a copy of their current catalogue, often quite a bulky affair. The custom is now obsolete, yet those old catalogues are beginning to have something of a period interest, and a part of that interest is to find in the theological section such a vast output of sermons collected together by ministers of religion eminent or less eminent. If the desultory reader of to-day peruses them, he will be inclined to wonder why many of them should ever have been printed. Two partial explanations suggest themselves. Naturally enough, sermons apposite for their own times are liable to become out-dated. And secondly, there was quite widely diffused until fifty or sixty years ago a habit of Sunday Reading, and a sermon was not too long or too short for this pious exercise; if it did not succeed in keeping the reader's wakeful attention, it might not be wholly condemned for that.

Is it significant of some revival that within the space of a fortnight there should appear two new volumes of collected sermons? For whom are they intended? Since one of them is a volume of recent sermons by Dr Alec Vidler, and the other a volume of much less recent sermons by Dr Inge of St Paul's, they may be intended for different kinds of readers. Perhaps many sorts of people are once more prepared to read sermons, though it is to be feared that, if people do want sermons out of church, they will seek them on the air. They can be very sure however that they will never hear any sermons just like Dean Inge's, and they cannot now have his except in a printed book. In the course of his long life he published five volumes of sermons, the last more than twenty years ago, and we can well do with a sixth. Dr Judd has rendered us a great service by giving us this new collection. Inge often preached on special occasions, but all his preaching (even on special occasions) had a permanent value both as divinity and as literature, for he combined the gifts of a theologian, a scholar, and a journalist, all of the first rank. He was a delightfully entertaining writer, but a very earnest one. He greatly desired that all men should come to the truth, and he wished that what he wrote should contribute to that end. In his lifetime what he had to say was somewhat distorted by disproportionate attention being given to his antipathies, of which he cherished not a few; but we can now see how, much more than most people imagined, he saw life steadily and saw it whole, and he had the special virtue of not pretending to see more than was visible. "We have to practice the difficult art of living in a world which we do not understand", he said, "Religion is the chief portion of this art" (p. 153). Of this same art he himself was both a practitioner and a critic.

Canon Vidler's *Windsor Sermons* are homely by comparison, but this

is not to say that they are undistinguished. They have a kind of down-to-earth quality; like Wesley's hymn-books they provide "a body of experimental divinity". They tell you what to do and why. In a challenging Preface he writes: "What I want to see in print is not sermons prepared for special occasions or great days by prelates or professors, but ordinary sermons such as have been delivered week by week to ordinary congregations by ordinary clergymen such as myself." It might almost look as if he had heard that a volume of Inge's sermons was to be published, and was deprecating comparison with his own. But at least the two of them are alike in this: neither is an ordinary clergyman, and these are not volumes of ordinary sermons.

ADAM FOX

HOW TO PREACH

POWER IN PREACHING. By W. E. SANGSTER. Epworth Press. 7s. 6d.

DR SANGSTER brings before us here the Fondren Lectures delivered at the Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. They are models of conciseness and clarity, written with grace and wit, and ably exemplifying the principles they proclaim. Intensely practical as they are, these Lectures have as a strong foundation the need for relating doing to thinking, duty to doctrine, what is demanded of us and how these demands flow from the nature of God himself. The writer therefore pleads for a doctrinal sermon—and for a sermon, not a snippet. This is indeed of vital importance to-day when the outsider (and even the insider) cannot see the remotest connection between the doctrine of the Trinity and daily life, and rebels from putting into practice hard teaching such as the need for forgiveness, because this has not been associated with the Cross of Christ and the revelation of God's love.

This is a searching book. Do preachers run to the pulpit as though that was the most important thing they had to do? Have they prayed their sermons through? Are their sermons not only flavoured with prayer, but steeped in it? Are they heralds of good news of the utmost importance, or men fumbling about for something to say in the shortest time compatible with professional decency? We are left in no doubt where the secret of power in preaching finally lies, "and at the last the secret of power in preaching is to have power in prayer".

Preaching, the proclamation of the Word, like the Eucharist, the showing forth of the death of Christ, is a high mystery. As Dr Sangster points out, when all is said and done and there has been much prayer, much work and every form of skill, we still await with wonder the strange glory that comes at times to preaching as it does to prayer; the divine counterpoint which crowns human utterance. Then preaching not only illuminates and directs, but enables. As the undergraduate said of Bishop King, "When I hear him preaching, I know I am not good; I want to be good; and I know I can be good".

Let all preachers read this book; but let none of them be merely fascinated by its constant skill and resource. It is a book to go back to, to ponder—for it has a depth of latent fire which can inspire the downhearted to lift up their heads, the lazy to take more trouble, the glib to stop and listen before they prate, and the devout to seek with renewed faith for the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

MISSION PREACHING

THE WHOLE GOSPEL FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. By ALAN WALKER. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 8s. 6d.

ALAN WALKER, the author of this excellent book, a Methodist evangelist of world renown, was the leader of Australia's Mission to the Nation, which began in 1953 and is still going strong.

The thesis of his book—that the whole world needs the whole Gospel—is clearly and passionately developed to a climax in the chapter entitled "The price of Evangelism", which should stir the dullest.

It is indeed remarkable to find set out for us an evangelism which combines the authentic touch of Wesley as well as of Maurice, of Temple as well as of Spurgeon. "The Christian Church", he says, "ever has a two-fold task on its hands: to win men and women one by one to a vital relationship with God, and to fashion a world fit for the children of God to live in." Yet the Church has largely neglected the great vision of the Kingdom of God—that Kingdom which "meets the very cries which are on the lips of men; a cry for political freedom, economic justice, racial equality, world peace".

Nevertheless, of course, men and women must be won individually for Christ; and there is a very wise chapter on "Preaching for a Verdict". To-day the way must be prepared for this by the use of words and ideas familiar to non-believers, and a right use of biblical scholarship. In this connection the writer points out that Wesley preached not only sermons of decision, but gave long expositions of Christ's teaching—the Sermon on the Mount and the parables. He says that latterly many evangelists have failed to realize that large numbers of their audience would not know what they were talking about.

The whole Gospel must be preached; the Gospel of social righteousness as well as of personal salvation; and it must be preached to the whole world, a world which has become very accessible, through radio and television, through the press, through film and drama, pamphlet and book. Mr Walker points out the great need, because of this, for Christians to be master of these techniques. Here are avenues of opportunity for the laity, who are also essential in maintaining the momentum of the mission and safeguarding its results—"only through lay evangelism can necessary advances be recorded".

This book is a "must" for every mission preacher. The writer does not appear to have heard of the Mission to London in 1949, which, although

on a much smaller scale, shared so many of his principles and methods.

Similarly, he often speaks as Frederick Denison Maurice did, and yet (p. 49) does not seem aware of his mighty influence on the whole social life of England. If he was so aware of Maurice, of Wilberforce, of Josephine Butler, of Kingsley and Octavia Hill, of Patterson and all the others of that bright company, he would be rejoiced to find the strong support for his thesis that the whole Gospel must be preached to the whole world—a Gospel of social as well as individual redemption. Of this in our own country we have recently been reminded by the Archdeacon of London in his book *Message for a Mission.*

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

PREACHING

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD. By R. E. C. BROWNE. S.C.M. 8s. 6d.

MANY books are difficult to read, and yield little reward when the obstacles have been surmounted. Apart from its own rather cumbersome style this book is difficult to read; but it does compensate the reader who approaches it in a meditative and industrious vein. It would probably do best with a group of priests who first read it individually, and then met for prayer and study.

"The minister of the Word", says the author, "as well as being a man of prayer and study is to be as diligent in the study of words as the poet, and as skilful in their use". There lies behind this thesis the idea that, like poetry, the statement of religious truth in the ministry of preaching is not just the enunciation of certain propositions, but their enunciation in such a way and with the use of such language and rhythm, that the hearer is carried beyond them. There is for ever a mystery about God and life and man which mere logic cannot express. "I can't decide whether to live or die", is not the same as "To be or not to be, that is the question". Nor are we as deeply touched with "And when they saw the star they were very glad", as we are by the majestic and insurgent "And when they saw the star they rejoiced with exceeding great joy".

It is quite clear (without at all disparaging the benefits that will come to any who care to follow these lines of thought) that a great many very good parish priests will not be able to preach in that way. Indeed, there are other ways of preaching, both to the faithful and the outsider, which are of great importance—such as the historical or the hortatory—where clarity and direct appeal must have first place. Nevertheless this book bears witness that preaching is meant to open doors and not to shut them; and that the message should be so delivered that those who have ears are lifted up from what we can say about God to what we can know about him.

Hardly any of the books on preaching deal adequately with the preaching of Christ. This is no exception. A careful exposition of his

methods of presenting the message would have been of great use to author as well as to reader; and any individual or study group would be much helped by making a close Bible study of the preaching of Christ a necessary prelude to meditation on this valuable little book.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

MUSIC

I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVES. By JOHANN MICHAEL BACH (1648-94).

THIS short motet for five voices is the work of a minor member of the Bach family. It introduces the chorale *Christus, der ist mein Leben,* and the texture is simple and mainly harmonic. The compass of the voices (particularly the low F sharps in the second bass line) makes the motet hazardous for any but experienced choirs. As music, it is pleasant enough, though in no respect different from numbers of other compositions of the period. It is, however, not easy to discover any compelling reason for its re-issue, and it is no doubt due to the passionate musical archaeology of the twentieth century.

N. E. WALLBANK

MEANS OF PUBLICITY

CRISIS IN COMMUNICATION. By MALCOLM BOYD. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

THIS book is important, and its title tells why. Churchmen agree on the Christian duty of spreading the Gospel, but the means of achieving this has always caused divisions of opinion: St Francis caused a furore by using the "mass media" of his day. Recently, the debate has centred round the worth of Christian opinion forums, house meetings, Priest-worker movements, Folk Masses, "Crusades", and so on. The question is further complicated on the other side of the Atlantic because there is a readier acceptance of the Church's need and duty to advertise; but how far is she to let herself be involved in the use of means and media basically good in themselves, which have admittedly become debased? It is one of the modern dresses for the Christian's age-old problem of how to be in the world, but not of it.

Mr Boyd, an American Priest, who before ordination worked for commercial radio, has marshalled a great deal of evidence on the actual use of public relations techniques and the media of communication, which presents arguments both for and against the Christian use of these mass media. This is, primarily, a book of source material for the Christian who wants to think further on the subject. It is well documented, with excellent bibliographies. The author presents few specific conclusions, which is all to the good in a study of this sort, but he does make some basic assumptions. He assumes that the basic fact that men

are now able to communicate readily with millions of their fellows is a good fact, not to be confused with undeniably wicked exploitation of the media of communication; and he assumes, too, that Christians are bound, under the Holy Spirit, to investigate any media which may prove to be new channels of grace. TV, films, radio, advertising and publicity are aspects of our world which cannot be ignored, and we must accept our Christian responsibility both as to our reception of the secular message they ordinarily convey, and our ability or right to "exploit" them for our Lord. One of Mr Boyd's most valuable hints is of the pitfalls of sentimentality, falseness, and second-rate art in the consciously "religious" use of the mass media.

Some of the material Mr Boyd presents is unmistakably transatlantic in outlook, but it cannot be ignored on that account, since our techniques of communication compare with American techniques, even if the material exploited is somewhat different. The reader must inevitably suffer much of the jargon of the public relations world in a book using a great deal of quoted material, but it is a pity that the jargon creeps into the author's own commentary. However, this is a minor fault in a book that ought to be read. As its author says, every Christian is by his vocation a communicator—and he ought to know what "communication" means to-day.

"Every Christian is called upon to be a public relations man or woman for the Christian faith. God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself. That work of reconciliation, fully accomplished for us by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has yet to be completed in us. This completion is actively carried on by God the Holy Spirit, who works in, and through, Christians as instruments of His work". Herein lies the secret of communication—to know how to use the gift of Holy Spirit and to be increasingly sensitive to his Power, in any and every given situation for "no man calleth Jesus Lord except by the Holy Ghost".

W. P. Baddeley

PASTORALIA

That they might have Life. By Edward Rogers. Epworth Press. 4s. 6d.

Man and Wife Together. By Kenneth G. Greet. Epworth Press. 5s.

These two books by Methodist writers are both concerned with man's life in the world; man's true life; human life as it is and always has been in the purpose and intention of God its Creator. The first of them is concerned with life in general and its meaning; the second applies the Christian outlook on life to the particular sphere of the home and marriage.

That They Might Have Life is a book to read when one is feeling spiritually stale, or, for that matter, stale in any of the ordinary concerns of life. Its title is its main theme; and, that being so, it is not

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surprising that the Incarnation and our Lord's work for man are central in its thought and argument. And in all this the writer emphasizes the essential place of the Resurrection, both in our Lord's work of bringing life to man—and that is salvation—and in our understanding of it and appropriating it.

Does man want life? The answer is not so definitely in the affirmative as one might suppose. But Mr Rogers shows that, as received from Christ and lived by his grace, there is nothing that can be more satisfying.

In *Man And Wife Together* we have a most useful contribution to Christian literature dealing with the subject of Sex Education and Marriage Preparation. It was written especially for Methodist ministers; but it will be equally helpful to others with responsibilities and opportunities relating to Marriage. It faces present-day facts and situations and applies the Christian way of life to them, covering the whole range of moral problems and questions which are so to the fore in modern life, and endeavouring to show the way through them.

A. J. G. Hawes

HEALING ?

The Way of Divine Healing. By Robert Forget. Max Parrish. 12s. 6d.

The author of this book is a French Protestant pastor who tells us that these chapters consist of notes, somewhat elaborated, of a series of talks he gave in Switzerland in 1955. When we also learn that he presided over the 1957 International Conference on Divine Healing and that he is touring England this summer, we are bound to feel more than a little disturbed.

We have here 128 pages of astounding statements which we are asked to take on trust, with not a single case history in substantiation of the claims made. These statements, moreover, are untidily strung together and liberally dosed with quotations from Holy Scripture which have been wrenched out of their context. It is feared that many sensation seekers will read this book and swallow it whole. Even they may find it hard to accept that "the soul is really situated in the heart but because of its delicate nature it is invisible". We may wonder if electro-cardiography could be used with advantage by spiritual directors. Or this: "It is worth noticing that the human body itself seems to confirm in its diseases what it lacks by the appearance of certain colours, as in jaundice, scarlet fever, blue baby, lupus, black tumour etc." The author follows this by writing with admiration of a certain woman who "heals sick people in a very effective manner by applying coloured ribbons to their bodies".

One wonders what she would hang on the body of a Cambridge Blue who had a dark blue bruise or on a healthy looking person with obsessional neurosis.

After 126 pages of this sort of thing we are asked to read the whole thing again and we are not amused. Such a task is not even a penance, for a penance is something given for the good of our souls. In view of Pastor Forget's location of the soul, our hearts would surely not be in this task.

The book contains almost every "cranky" idea which has ever been put forward. If a doctor wished to write a book which would bring the whole subject of Divine Healing into ridicule, he could not have done better than this. In view of the increasing co-operation between the Church and Medicine and when the author's obvious sincerity is taken into account, this book can only be described as a tragedy. In his introduction, the author writes, "I shall confine myself to certain reflections gradually acquired after five years of trial and error in practising this wonderful ministry of healing." The error is plain enough and it is hoped that those who have any influence in these matters will discourage the reading of this book: a sore trial indeed.

NORMAN SMALL

ORIGINAL CALVINISM

JOHN CALVIN ON THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. Selections from the Institutes, Commentaries and Tracts. Edited with an Introduction by JOHN T. MCNEILL. Liberal Arts Press. New York. 95 cents.

PROFESSOR MCNEILL has rendered useful service to students of theology, particularly to young students, in his compact introduction which fully covers Calvin's life, and on the whole, in the selections from Calvin's writings. The most useful part of this publication, comprising some two-thirds of the extracts, is concerned with the Institutes. These include Calvin's doctrine on Christian faith and practice—sacramental, moral, and civic. The popular notion of the Reformer as a fierce polemist should be corrected by a perusal not only of the Institutes, but of the selections from the Commentaries, and especially from the Reply to Cardinal Sadolet with which this book ends. Here Calvin's courteous and restrained dialectic is especially remarkable. In the Institutes even the doctrine of Election, that stumbling-block, in some quarters, at every recollection of Calvin's name, is toned down by his assertion that it is not possible in this life, to judge whether any man has been predestined to condemnation. He bases the doctrine on the idea of divine foreknowledge of human action and not upon divine predetermination of a man's fate. Even more impressive, perhaps, to the new student of Calvin will be his clear unqualified teaching on the real spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and on the doctrine of the Church.

However, Professor McNeill's book might have been improved if he had not excluded, for example, Institutes I 13 on the Trinity, and II 13 on the two-nature doctrine of the Incarnation. On the other hand, we could have dispensed with much of the section on the Commentaries.

A. J. MACDONALD